

# **A Corpus-assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of the Arab Uprisings**

Evidence from the Libyan Case

---

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for**

**the Degree**

**of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**in**

**Linguistics**

**Department of Linguistics**

**by**

**Ahmad S Haider**

**University of Canterbury**

**2016**

---



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

MOTTO .....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
1. CHAPTER ONE .....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Contextual background .....	3
1.2.1 The Arab Spring.....	3
1.2.2 The Libyan uprisings .....	4
1.3 The power of language and the Arab Spring .....	7
1.4 Media & politics and this Study.....	8
1.4.1 Why examine newspapers?.....	9
1.4.2 Autonomy of journalism .....	9
1.5 Pan-Arab public opinion .....	13
1.6 Methodological framework (Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis) .....	15
1.7 Research objectives and questions .....	17
1.7.1 Research objectives.....	17
1.7.2 Research questions .....	19
1.8 Research gap .....	21
1.9 The outline of this thesis .....	21
2. CHAPTER TWO .....	24
2.1. Libya and the Qaddafis .....	24
2.1.1. The history of Libya.....	26
2.1.2. Qaddafi's sons and daughters .....	28
2.1.3. Timeline of Libya.....	29
2.2. The Arab Uprisings.....	31

2.2.1.	Introduction.....	32
2.2.2.	Etymology of the Arab Spring .....	34
2.2.3.	Causes of the Arab Spring .....	34
2.2.4.	Summary of the Arab Spring in the five main involved countries.....	37
2.3.	A concluding statement.....	39
3.	CHAPTER THREE .....	41
3.1.	Critical Discourse Analysis.....	41
3.1.1.	Introduction (definition and aims) .....	41
3.1.2.	Multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach .....	43
3.1.3.	Critical Discourse.....	44
3.1.3.1.	Critical.....	44
3.1.3.2.	Discourse.....	45
3.1.3.3.	Discourse Analysis and CDA.....	46
3.1.4.	Main directions (approaches) in CDA .....	47
3.1.4.1.	Van Dijk's Approach .....	47
3.1.4.2.	Wodak's Discourse Sociolinguistics/Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) .....	48
3.1.4.3.	Fairclough: Social Discourse Approach.....	49
3.1.5.	Critiques of CDA .....	50
3.1.6.	CDA and this study .....	52
3.2.	Corpus Linguistics .....	54
3.2.1.	Introduction.....	54
3.2.2.	A Methodology or Theory of language? Corpus-driven Vs. Corpus-based approaches 55	
3.2.2.1.	A Methodology or Theory?.....	55
3.2.2.2.	Corpus-driven Vs. Corpus-based .....	56
3.2.3.	Types of corpora .....	57
3.2.4.	Corpus Linguistic techniques.....	58
3.2.4.1.	Dispersion .....	58
3.2.4.2.	Word frequency.....	59

3.2.4.3.	Clusters.....	60
3.2.4.4.	Concordance (KWIC: Key word in context) .....	61
3.2.4.5.	Collocation .....	62
3.2.4.6.	Keywords .....	64
3.3.	Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics.....	65
3.3.1.	The advantages of using CL techniques in (Critical) discourse studies.....	66
3.3.2.	Corpus-assisted analysis as a way to enable researchers to uncover discourses.....	68
3.3.3.	Corpus techniques and Discourse Analysis .....	69
3.3.3.1.	Frequency and discourse .....	70
3.3.3.2.	Collocation and discourse .....	70
3.3.3.3.	Keywords and discourse .....	72
3.3.3.4.	Concordance and discourse.....	73
3.4.	Corpus-assisted discourse studies .....	73
3.5.	A concluding statement.....	79
4.	CHAPTER FOUR.....	80
4.1.	Newspapers as a source of data.....	80
4.1.1.	Arabic Newspapers .....	80
4.1.1.1.	Asharq Al-Awsat (الشرق الاوسط).....	81
4.1.1.2.	Al Khaleej (الخليج).....	82
4.1.2.	English Newspapers.....	83
4.1.2.1.	The New York Times.....	84
4.1.2.2.	The Guardian.....	85
4.2.	Data collection and corpus compilation.....	85
4.2.1.	Query terms.....	86
4.2.2.	English and Arabic Newspapers in news Databases .....	87
4.3.	English and Arabic corpora size .....	89
4.3.1.	English corpus size.....	89
4.3.2.	Arabic corpus size .....	90

4.4.	Organizing the retrieved articles .....	91
4.4.1.	Categorizing the results based on the months they occurred in .....	92
4.4.2.	Corpus syntactic annotation .....	92
4.4.3.	Corpus mark-up.....	93
4.4.4.	Dispersion plots for Libya and Qaddafi .....	95
4.4.4.1.	Dispersion .....	95
4.4.4.2.	Dividing the data.....	98
4.5.	Practical constraints in designing corpora for discourse studies.....	98
4.6.	Analytical software and settings .....	101
4.7.	Data analysis .....	101
4.7.1.	Frequency analysis.....	101
4.7.1.1.	Common words analysis .....	103
4.7.1.2.	Unique words analysis .....	103
4.7.2.	Keyword analysis.....	103
4.7.3.	The main investigated person ( <i>Qaddafi</i> ).....	104
4.8.	A concluding statement.....	105
5.	CHAPTER FIVE .....	108
5.1.	Introduction.....	108
5.1.1.	The similarities in the frequent lexical words in the three periods .....	112
5.1.2.	Discussion .....	129
5.2.	Period 1 (2009/2010) .....	132
5.2.1.	Unique words .....	132
5.2.1.1.	English Newspapers .....	133
5.2.1.2.	Arabic Newspapers .....	144
5.2.2.	Keyword Analysis.....	147
5.2.2.1.	English newspapers.....	147
5.2.2.2.	Arabic newspapers .....	153
5.2.3.	The main investigated person in the study ( <i>Qaddafi</i> ) .....	160

5.2.3.1.	English Newspapers .....	163
5.2.3.2.	Arabic Newspapers .....	165
5.2.4.	Period 1 discussion.....	170
6.	CHAPTER Six .....	175
6.1	Unique Words .....	175
6.1.1	English Newspapers .....	176
6.1.2	Arabic Newspapers .....	188
6.2	Keyword Analysis.....	203
6.2.1	English Newspapers .....	203
6.2.2	Arabic Newspapers .....	211
6.3	The main investigated person in the study (Qaddafi) .....	214
6.3.1	English Newspapers .....	217
6.3.2	Arabic Newspapers .....	219
6.4	Period 2 discussion .....	227
7.	CHAPTER Seven.....	233
7.1	Unique Words .....	233
7.1.1	English Newspapers .....	234
7.1.2	Arabic newspapers .....	242
7.2	Keyword Analysis.....	247
7.2.1	English Newspapers .....	247
7.2.2	Arabic Newspapers .....	251
7.3	The main investigated person in the study (Qaddafi) .....	257
7.3.1	English Newspapers .....	259
7.3.2	Arabic Newspapers .....	263
7.4	Period 3 discussion .....	267
8.	Chapter Eight .....	270
8.1.	Research findings.....	270
8.1.1.	Common words analysis (Question 1) .....	271

8.1.2.	Unique words analysis (Question 2) .....	271
8.1.3.	Keyword analysis (Question 3).....	273
8.1.4.	Qaddafi's POS collocates analysis (Question 4).....	274
8.1.5.	The representation of the Arab Spring (Question 5) .....	275
8.2.	CDA and the study findings.....	276
8.3.	The methodological combination of CDA and CL .....	283
8.3.1.	Some comments on the used techniques/tools .....	284
8.3.1.1.	Frequency and Clusters .....	284
8.3.1.2.	Collocation .....	285
8.3.1.3.	Concordance.....	286
8.3.1.4.	Keyword analysis .....	287
8.3.2.	Applying CDA approaches in corpus-assisted studies... Is it a real combination or does CL take the lion's share?.....	288
8.4.	The Arabic language and Corpus based/driven discourse studies .....	289
8.5.	Implications, Recommendations, and Future Research .....	295
8.6.	Final Remarks .....	299
	References.....	301
	Appendices.....	319



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: The three investigated periods in this research .....	17
Table 2.1: The timeline of Libya until 2008 (BBC News, 2016; The Guardian, 2011c; Worldatlas, 2014) .....	30
Table 2.2: The timeline of Libya from 2009 to 2013 (BBC News, 2016; The Guardian, 2011c; Worldatlas, 2014) .....	30
Table 2.3: Categorizing the Arab countries based on the severity of the protests .....	34
Table 2.4: Summary of the Arab Awakening in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen (AlJazeera, 2013; Smith, 2016) .....	37
Table 3.1: Van Dijk's ideological square .....	47
Table 3.2: Fairclough's social approach .....	49
Table 3.3: Some popular claims about CL and CDA (Marchi & Taylor, 2009) .....	67
Table 4.1: The size of the The New York Times' corpus .....	89
Table 4.2: The size of The Guardian's corpus .....	90
Table 4.3: The size of the English corpus .....	90
Table 4.4: The size of Asharq Al-Awsat's corpus .....	90
Table 4.5: The size of Al-Khaleej's corpus .....	91
Table 4.6: The size of the Arabic corpus .....	91
Table 4.7: The size of the English and Arabic corpora .....	91
Table 4.8: Examples of SGML codes .....	93
Table 4.9: The heading pattern of the Guardian .....	93
Table 4.10: The mark-up style of the English articles .....	94
Table 4.11: The mark-up style of the Arabic articles .....	94
Table 4.12: The three investigated periods in this study .....	98
Table 4.13: Methodological steps followed in this thesis .....	106
Table 5.1.1: The top 25 lexical words in the Guardian .....	108
Table 5.1.2: The top 25 lexical words in the NYT .....	109
Table 5.1.3: The top 35 lexical words in Al-Khaleej .....	110
Table 5.1.4: The top 35 lexical words in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	111
Table 5.1.5: Common words across the three periods in the four investigated newspapers .....	113
Table 5.1.6: Cluster analysis for the word <i>government</i> in the Guardian .....	114
Table 5.1.7: Cluster analysis for the word <i>Mr.</i> in the NYT .....	115
Table 5.1.8: Cluster analysis for <i>Qaddafi</i> in the two English newspapers .....	116
Table 5.1.9: Cluster analysis for <i>القذافي Qaddafi</i> in the two Arabic newspapers .....	117
Table 5.1.10: Cluster analysis for <i>regime</i> in the two English newspapers .....	118

Table 5.1.11: Cluster analysis for <i>النظام/نظام (the) regime</i> in the two Arabic newspapers .....	119
Table 5.1.12: Translation of table 5.1.11 .....	120
Table 5.1.13: Cluster analysis for the words العربية/العربي <i>Arab/Arab</i> (feminine/masculine) in Al-Khaleej .....	121
Table 5.1.14: Cluster analysis for the words العربية/العربي <i>Arab/Arab</i> (feminine/masculine) in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	125
Table 5.1.15: Van Dijk's ideological Square .....	130
Table 5.2.1: Unique words in period 1 (2009/2010) in the English and Arabic newspapers.....	132
Table 5.2.2: The Timeline of the <i>Lockerbie bombing</i> .....	134
Table 5.2.3: Thematic categories of <i>Megrahi's</i> collocates in the Guardian and the NYT.....	134
Table 5.2.4: Cluster analysis of <i>الدولة the state</i> in Al-Khaleej .....	145
Table 5.2.5: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 1 (2009/2010) .....	147
Table 5.2.6: Patterns analysis for <i>Nuclear</i> in the NYT .....	149
Table 5.2.7: Patterns analysis for <i>Nuclear</i> in the Guardian .....	149
Table 5.2.8: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 1 (2009/2010).....	153
Table 5.2.9: Thematic categories for the collocates of <i>المقرحي Megrahi</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej .....	155
Table 5.2.10: POS categories for the collocates of <i>القذافي Qaddafi</i> in period 1.....	162
Table 6.1: Unique words in period 2 (2011) in the Arabic and English newspapers.....	175
Table 6.2: Thematic categories of the collocates of <i>NATO</i> in the Guardian and the NYT.....	177
Table 6.3: Most frequent clusters with <i>Arab</i> in period 2 in the Guardian and the NYT.....	182
Table 6.4: Patterns analysis for <i>spring, revolution, uprisings, and revolutions</i> in the Guardian.....	182
Table 6.5: Patterns analysis for <i>spring, uprisings, revolts, and revolution</i> in the NYT.....	183
Table 6.6: Thematic categories of the collocates of <i>النظام the regime</i> in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat .....	188
Table 6.7: The most frequent clusters with <i>النظام the regime</i> in Al-Khaleej.....	189
Table 6.8: The most frequent clusters with <i>النظام the regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat.....	189
Table 6.9: The most frequent clusters with <i>نظام regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	190
Table 6.10: The verbs <i>مارس يمارس commit/committed</i> as collocates of <i>النظام the regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	192
Table 6.11: The most frequent clusters with <i>القوات forces</i> and <i>الثوار the rebels</i> in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat .....	193
Table 6.12: Verbs used with the three types of forces mentioned above in Al-Khaleej .....	195
Table 6.13: English Translation of table 6.12 .....	197
Table 6.14: Verbs used with the three types of forces in <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i> .....	199
Table 6.15: English translation of table 6.14 .....	200
Table 6.16: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 2 (2011) .....	204

Table 6.17: Most frequent clusters with <i>oil</i> in the NYT and the Guardian in period 2 .....	205
Table 6.18: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 2 (2011).....	211
Table 6.19: POS categories for the collocates of <i>القذافي Qaddafi</i> .....	216
Table 6.20: Patterns analysis for <i>Qaddafi's</i> collocate <i>ونظامه and his regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat.....	222
Table 7.1: Unique words in the English and Arabic newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013).....	233
Table 7.2: The most frequent clusters with <i>regime</i> in the Guardian .....	234
Table 7.3: Top collocates with the word <i>attack</i> in the NYT .....	235
Table 7.4: The most frequent clusters with <i>Arab</i> in the Guardian and the NYT .....	238
Table 7.5: Patterns analysis for the clusters <i>Arab (spring, uprisings, and revolutions)</i> in the Guardian .....	239
Table 7.6: Patterns analysis for <i>Arab (spring, awakening, uprisings, and revolutions)</i> in the NYT ..	239
Table 7.7: The strongest 20 collocates with <i>الأميركية American</i> in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat	244
Table 7.8: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013) .....	247
Table 7.9: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013).....	252
Table 7.10: Thematic categories for the collocates of <i>الاخوان Brotherhood</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej .....	253
Table 7.11: POS categories for the collocates of <i>القذافي Qaddafi</i> in period 3 (2012/2013).....	258
Table 8.1: Van Dijk's ideological square.....	280
Table 8.2: The Arabic forms for the English adjective <i>Libyan</i> .....	290
Table 8.3: Arabic case system.....	291
Table 8.4: A cluster analysis for the word <i>القمة the summit</i> in Al-Khaleej in period 1 .....	293

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Crude Oil production in Libya from 2010 to 2013 (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2013) .....	25
Figure 3.1: A screenshot of WS6 operating concordance plot.....	59
Figure 3.2: A screenshot of WS6 operating the wordlist tool.....	60
Figure 3.3: A screenshot of WS6 operating clusters.....	61
Figure 3.4: A screenshot of WS6 operating concordance.....	62
Figure 3.5: A screenshot of WS6 operating collocation .....	63
Figure 3.6: A screenshot of WS6 operating keyword tool.....	64
Figure 4.1: Top 10 Online Newspapers (ComScore, 2012).....	84
Figure 4.2: A snapshot of Factiva news database .....	87
Figure 4.3: A snapshot of Asharq Al-Awsat website.....	88
Figure 4.4: A snapshot of Al-Khaleej website .....	89
Figure 4.5: The number of articles on <i>Libya</i> in the Guardian (2009) .....	92
Figure 4.6: Dispersion of <i>Libya</i> * in the Guardian and the NYT (2009-2013).....	96
Figure 4.7: Dispersion of *ليبيا* <i>Libya</i> * in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat (2009-2013).....	96
Figure 4.8: Dispersion of <i>Libya</i> * in the Guardian in 2009/2010 .....	97
Figure 4.9: Dispersion of *ليبيا* <i>Libya</i> * in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2009/2010.....	98
Figure 4.10: The increase in the articles' number in the Guardian during the uprisings 2011 .....	99
Figure 4.11: Word count comparison between the NYT and the Guardian.....	100
Figure 5.2.1: Dispersion of <i>Pakistan</i> * in the NYT and the Guardian in 2009/2010.....	151
Figure 5.2.2: Dispersion of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the English newspapers in 2009/2010 .....	161
Figure 5.2.3: Dispersion of <i>القذافي</i> <i>Qaddafi</i> in the Arabic newspapers in 2009/2010.....	161
Figure 6.1: Dispersion of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the English newspapers in 2011 .....	215
Figure 6.2: Dispersion of <i>القذافي</i> <i>Qaddafi</i> in the Arabic newspapers in 2011.....	215
Figure 6.3: Discursive Strategy in the broadsheets' reporting of Iraq (Richardson, 2004, p. 156) ....	229
Figure 7.1: Dispersion of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the English newspapers in 2012/2013 .....	257
Figure 7.2: Dispersion of <i>القذافي</i> <i>Qaddafi</i> in the Arabic newspapers in 2012/2013 .....	258

## LIST OF CONCORDANCES

Concordance 5.1.1: The cluster الربيع العربي <i>The Arab Spring</i> in Al-Khaleej in 2011 .....	123
Concordance 5.1.2: Translation of concordance 5.1.1 .....	123
Concordance 5.1.3: The cluster الربيع العربي <i>The Arab Spring</i> in Al-Khaleej in 2012/2013 .....	124
Concordance 5.1.4: Translation of concordance 5.1.3 .....	124
Concordance 5.1.5: The cluster الربيع العربي <i>The Arab Spring</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2011 .....	126
Concordance 5.1.6: Translation of concordance 5.1.5 .....	127
Concordance 5.1.7: The cluster الربيع العربي <i>The Arab Spring</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2012/2013 .....	128
Concordance 5.1.8: Translation of concordance 5.1.7 .....	128
Concordance 5.1.9: Examples of the ideological square in Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej .....	131
Concordance 5.2.1: Description of <i>Megrahi</i> in the Guardian and the NYT .....	136
Concordance 5.2.2: The decision of the release and how it was described in the <i>Guardian</i> .....	137
Concordance 5.2.3: The <i>decision</i> and how it was described in the Guardian .....	137
Concordance 5.2.4: The <i>decision</i> and how it was described in the NYT .....	138
Concordance 5.2.5: The justification of Megrahi's release in the <i>Guardian</i> .....	139
Concordance 5.2.6: The justification of Megrahi's release in the <i>NYT</i> .....	140
Concordance 5.2.7: Involved people and countries in the co-text of Megrahi's release in the <i>Guardian</i> .....	141
Concordance 5.2.8: Involved people and countries in the co-text of Megrahi's release in the <i>NYT</i> ..	142
Concordance 5.2.9: Categorizing the news about Megrahi as 'National' in the Guardian .....	143
Concordance 5.2.10: ايران <i>Iran</i> as a member of OPEC in Al-Khaleej .....	155
Concordance 5.2.11: The adjective <i>Swiss</i> in the NYT and the Guardian .....	164
Concordance 5.2.12: Describing Qaddafi as a <i>mad dog</i> in the NYT .....	164
Concordance 5.2.13: Describing Qaddafi as a <i>dictator</i> in the Guardian .....	165
Concordance 6.1: The collocate <i>civilian</i> in the co-text of <i>NATO</i> in the NYT .....	180
Concordance 6.2: The collocate <i>war</i> in the co-text of <i>NATO</i> in the NYT .....	181
Concordance 6.3: The collocate <i>democratic</i> with <i>revolution/uprisings/spring</i> in the Guardian .....	184
Concordance 6.4: The collocate <i>democracy</i> with the <i>Arab revolutions/ spring</i> in the NYT .....	185
Concordance 6.5: <i>autocrat</i> and <i>summer</i> in the co-text of the <i>Arab Spring</i> in the Guardian .....	185
Concordance 6.6: The clusters <i>The Arab Spring/Uprisings</i> in the NYT .....	186
Concordance 6.7: The collocate رأس النظام <i>the head of</i> with <i>the regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	191
Concordance 6.8: The collocate شعبه <i>its people</i> with <i>the regime</i> in Al-Khaleej .....	191
Concordance 6.9: The cluster قوات درع الجزيرة <i>Peninsula Shield forces</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	195
Concordance 6.10: The cluster 's <i>oil</i> in the Guardian in period 2 .....	207
Concordance 6.11: The cluster 's <i>oil</i> in the NYT in period 2 .....	208
Concordance 6.12: Collective pronouns in the co-text of <i>Qaida</i> in the NYT .....	209

Concordance 6.13: Qaddafi with the plural noun <i>Libyans</i> in the NYT .....	218
Concordance 6.14: <i>dictator</i> as a collocate of Qaddafi in the Guardian .....	219
Concordance 6.15: حكم القذافي (تحت) ( <i>Under</i> ) Qaddafi's rule in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	220
Concordance 6.16: The plural noun المدنيين <i>civilians</i> as a collocate of Qaddafi in Al-Khaleej .....	221
Concordance 6.17: Describing Qaddafi as الطاغية/الديكتاتور <i>tyrant/dictator</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	222
Concordance 6.18: The plural noun مرتزقة <i>mercenaries</i> as a collocate of Qaddafi in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	223
Concordance 7.1: The word <i>terrorist</i> in the co-text of <i>attack</i> in the NYT .....	237
Concordance 7.2: <i>The Arab Spring</i> in the Guardian .....	241
Concordance 7.3: The word السفير <i>Ambassador</i> as a collocate of الأميركية <i>American</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	245
Concordance 7.4: <i>Qaida</i> with the grammatical word <i>by</i> in the NYT .....	249
Concordance 7.5: <i>Qaida</i> with the grammatical word <i>by</i> in the Guardian .....	250
Concordance 7.6: Negative representation of الإخوان المسلمين <i>Muslim Brotherhood</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	254
Concordance 7.7: <i>dictator</i> in the co-text of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the NYT .....	260
Concordance 7.8: <i>Post-Qaddafi</i> in the NYT .....	261
Concordance 7.9: <i>loyalists</i> in the co-text of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the Guardian .....	261
Concordance 7.10: <i>Post-Qaddafi</i> in the Guardian .....	262
Concordance 7.11: <i>dictator</i> in the co-text of <i>Qaddafi</i> in the Guardian .....	263
Concordance 7.12: عهد <i>Era</i> as a collocate of القذافي <i>Qaddafi</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat .....	263
Concordance 7.13: عهد <i>Era</i> as a collocate of القذافي <i>Qaddafi</i> in Al-Khaleej .....	265
Concordance 8.1: Some collocates with Qaddafi that might result in erroneous conclusion .....	286

## MOTTO



Say, Indeed, my prayer, my devotion, my life, and my death are all for Allah, the Cherisher of the Worlds (162) in whose divinity none has a share: for thus have I been bidden-and I shall [always] be foremost among those who surrender themselves unto Him (163) **[Quran 6:162-163 – Surat al-Anaam](#)**

## **DEDICATION**

To Allah, the All-Knowing and the Most-Wise, the source of my little knowledge

My mother, Haleema: My first and greatest teacher

My father, Salah: My Benefactor

My Sisters: Fatima, Nujood, Samar, Alia, Safiyah, Ni'ma, and Amani

And

My Brothers: Faris and Mahmoud



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude and thanks are due to Allah, Almighty, for his innumerable favours and bounties endowing me with health, time, patience, and strength to complete this thesis. Special thanks and appreciation go to my amiable supervisor and advisor, Dr. Kevin Watson for his constant support, invaluable help, constructive comments, and suggestions throughout my research. Incalculable thanks go to him for sparking my interest in Corpus Linguistics in the first days of my arrival to New Zealand. Dr. Watson guided my academic life during my PhD journey, and nurtured it. Dr. Watson, thank you always and thank you for ever. I am also grateful to my associate supervisor, Associate Professor Donald Matheson, for his flow of support, and knowledge regarding this topic. His suggestions re-shaped my thesis, and strengthened its contributions to the fields of Media and communication and CDA. I would also like to thank Dr. Monika Bednarek and Professor Tony McEnery for being my thesis examiners. Their suggestions have been absolutely invaluable and helped me to improve the quality of my work. I am also indebted to Geoff Ford for not only giving me tremendous help in building my Arabic corpora, but also being a consonant source of encouragement and enthusiasm. In this medium, I would like to acknowledge my academic mentor in Jordan, Professor Mousa Btoosh for nurturing my academic life. Thank you for being an excellent and successful example for me.

At this juncture, I need to express my appreciation to all people at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Canterbury. These include Prof. Beth Hume, Prof. Jen Hay, Dr. Lynn Clark, and Dr. Heidi Quinn. I also appreciate my fellow PhD candidates in Linguistics: Matthias, Daniel, Darcy, Ksenia, Dan Jiao, Xuan, Rayan, Keyi, Mineko, Andy, Mohammad, and Arshad. I have to use this medium to appreciate my good friends, who have consistently been my best supporters. These include Mahmoud Jazar, Mohammad Bany Taha, Ahmad Al-Dhamen, Mohammad Fuad, Mohammad Al-Beltaji, Mohammad Ayyob, Fadi Al-Remawi, Mohammad Al-Tahtamouni, and Semiu Bello. Thanks for the friendship and memories.

This is yet another time to show my profound and unparalleled gratitude to my wonderful parents for whom I remain greatly and ever indebted. To all my siblings, thank you for supporting me over these years.

To those who directly and indirectly contributed in this study, your help and support mean a lot to me. Thank you very much.

## ABSTRACT

The Arab Spring, a period of revolutions and protests that spread across the Arab world in 2011, is considered to be one of the most important series of events that have affected the Middle East and North Africa in modern history. The Arab Spring, and the various issues involved, has been discussed by many scholars and commentators from different points of view - politically, economically, socially, and linguistically. However, most of these studies have used a relatively small amount of data, and relatively little attention has been paid to the newspaper coverage of different regions or different languages.

This study combines two strands of research, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL) to identify the discursive practices relating to the 2011 Libyan civil war. It further examines how discourses around the regime of Qaddafi were constructed before, during, and after 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began. This is based on a new 27-million word corpus of four newspapers; two published in English (*The Guardian* and *The New York Times*), and two in Arabic (*Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*) from 2009 to 2013.

This research combines both quantitative and qualitative approaches to analyse the compiled corpus by applying corpus linguistic analytical techniques, mainly dispersion, frequency, clusters, concordance, collocation, and keywords. It demonstrates how the quantitative analysis must be coupled with qualitative analysis to provide functional interpretations of language patterns. The analysis shows that the 2011 Arab uprisings represented a turning point on how the former Libyan president, Qaddafi, is represented. For example, in the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010), the newspapers appear to be careful and conservative representing Qaddafi neutrally and sometimes positively, and covering his visits to other countries and contribution to solving some problems in the Arab world and Africa. During the uprisings (2011), the analysis shows that the four newspapers assume a more critical role in reporting the cruelty, corruption and violence of the Libyan leader representing him negatively, highlighting his use of excessive power against his own people during the 2011 Libyan civil war, and criticizing his policies and behaviours during his 42 years in power. In the post-uprisings era (2012/2013), and although Qaddafi died in October 2011, the newspapers tended to continue to describe him negatively, highlighting the different stations

in his life, and referring to the terrorist activities he was involved in. These results are connected to the political and social contexts of the particular periods showing that there is a wide range of discursive construction for Qaddafi based on the agendas of the investigated newspapers and the countries where they are based.

This study employs Van Dijk's (2003) ideological square to analyse these changing discursive patterns. I show that the members of the 'in-group' and 'out-group' are not the same through time, and how this has visible effects on the key discursive strategies. For example, in the pre-uprisings period, Qaddafi's identity was constructed as part of the self-group in the two Arabic newspapers being a president of an Arab country and frequently defending the rights of Arab and African countries in different international events. The same strategy was present in the *Guardian* and the *NYT* when talking about Qaddafi's giving up his nuclear ambition and taking part in the west's 'War on Terror'. After the outbreak of the 2011 uprisings, Qaddafi turned out to be part of the 'other-group' due to his violence against the 'innocent' Libyan people, while most of the Arab and Western countries were put together in one group forming an international coalition to save the lives of the increasingly desperate people of Libya.

This study raises some questions about the extent to which previous studies have used the combination of CL and CDA approaches, and whether the qualitative and quantitative types of analysis are always distributed equally. This study also discusses the challenges researchers may face while analysing Arabic texts using corpus linguistic techniques; these are mainly related to the structure, morphology, writing style, spelling, and other fields of the Arabic language.

# 1. CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 Introduction

The Arab Spring, a period of revolutions and protests that began in late 2010 and early 2011, is considered to be one of the most important series of events that have affected the Middle East and North Africa in modern history (Cavatorta, 2012; Murphy, 2012). The Arab Spring, and various issues involved, has been discussed by many scholars and commentators from different points of view - politically, economically, socially, and linguistically (see Abu Hatab, 2013; Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012; Al-Ali, 2012; Al-Anani, 2012; Jones, 2012a; Maalej, 2012; Michel, 2013; Springborg, 2011a; Teti, 2012). However, most of these studies used a relatively small amount of data that was manually and qualitatively analysed. Such types of research are open to criticism, having been accused of using unrepresentative data samples and ‘cherry picking’ examples in order to suit the researchers’ assumptions (Koller & Hardt-Mautner, 2004; Stubbs, 1997). In addition to this, the findings of such studies cannot be always generalized because they depend on language fragments rather than full texts. Therefore, there is a need for studies that work on a large amount of data to examine the representation of this period of protests. The current study aims to do so by examining the language of four newspapers; *Asharq Al-Awsat* (pan-Arab) and *Al-Khaleej* (UAE) published in Arabic, and *The Guardian* (Britain) and *The New York Times* (US) published in English.

The media is one of the most powerful tools which are used by the elites and authorities in order to control the masses, and influence their attitudes (Van Dijk, 1996). Mass media, especially newspapers and television, are among the most popular and important sources for people to get their news. Therefore, during the 2011 protests, most Arab audiences, regardless of their educational and social status, were motivated to read newspapers and watch TV channels, especially the ones dedicated to news such as Aljazeera (Campbell & Hawk, 2012). In addition, as noted by Khouri (2011), most Arab audiences read international newspapers during the crises over and above their national media channels and local newspapers. This is because most of their national media channels generally lack

credibility in reporting local as well as international news mainly because they have long loyalty to the existing regimes (Rugh, 2007), and are supervised, censored, operated, and owned, in most cases, by the governments or those who have loyalties to them (Khoury, 2011). Accordingly, this study aims not only to compare and contrast the coverage of newspapers of different languages and regions, but also examine the similarities and differences between the newspapers of the same language, but of different types, i.e. pan Arab vs. national.

This study is a contribution to the growing body of work which combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which studies the relationship between language, power and society, with the analytical frameworks of Corpus Linguistics (CL) which studies language as used in ‘real life’ texts, to examine the process of news presentation and the role of ideology, and analyse the discursive representation of the Arab revolutions in general, and of the Libyan uprisings in particular. Further, this study identifies the topics that tend to be over-reported or under-reported in the coverage of the period of the Arab Spring in the four investigated newspapers. It analyses the discursive strategies of these newspapers, given that journalism is viewed as a form of political and public discourse directed towards people (Van Dijk, 1996).

This study aims to emphasize the role that language plays in producing, maintaining, and changing the social relations of power in four countries, namely; Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Britain, and the United States. This is shown by examining how the policies and ideologies of where a newspaper is located may affect how certain events are represented. This study also contributes to the body of research done in the areas of both CDA and CL, and assesses the combination of these two approaches when applied on a language other than English bearing in mind that there are very few studies that used this synergy on Arabic texts (see Kandil, 2009 as an example).

This introductory chapter is organized as follows. Section 1.2 presents an overview of the contextual background of the study, providing information about the Arab Spring and its causes. It also discusses the Libyan case, and outlines why it has been selected as the focus of this study. Section 1.3 highlights the role that language plays in society and its power during the era of the Arab Spring, and discusses how many of our actions are influenced by

language. Section 1.4 discusses the interrelationship of media and politics and how political coverage does not occur in a vacuum. It discusses the investigated data in this study, and raises some issues related to the question of how media struggle to gain autonomy. Section 1.5 discusses the factors that helped the Arab people achieve a greater amount of freedom and liberty in the last two decades. Section 1.6 defines the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, and how the combination of CDA and CL is used to examine the Libyan uprisings. The research objectives and questions are outlined in section 1.7, while the research gaps are defined in section 1.8. This chapter ends with section 1.9 which presents a roadmap of the rest of the thesis.

## **1.2 Contextual background**

### **1.2.1 The Arab Spring**

In the last two decades, many regions of the world have witnessed several events which have impacted on national governance and international relations and policies. In the Middle Eastern region and the Arab world, the recent protests and uprisings are considered to be among the most important events the contemporary world has witnessed (Cavatorta, 2012). The Arab people revolted after decades of submission and subservience. Having been disappointed by their leaders and rulers, they collectively rejected the oppressions by revolting against their various governments. The central theme of these protests was change (Bayat, 2013). In other words, protesters across the Arab World felt the need to change the situation under which they lived, where the economic, political and social conditions were extremely difficult and unstable (Ottaway & Hamzawy, 2011).

The terms ‘Arab revolutions’, ‘Arab Spring’, ‘Arab Spring revolutions’, ‘Arab Winter’, ‘Arab Awakening’ and ‘Arab Uprisings’, underpin one set of events represented by the massive protest movements in most Arab countries, but mainly in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. Most of these protests were influenced by the Tunisian revolution that broke out due to the unstable political and economic situation in the country, which finally toppled the former President Ben Ali. The uprisings have been instigated by three types of causes, as noted by Aissa (2012):

- **Political causes:** These involve people's dissatisfaction with their ruling regimes, lack of freedom, lack of governmental reforms, violation of Human rights, absolute monarchy in some Arab countries, and political corruption that has been demonstrated after the emergence of some documents by Wiki-Leaks (Beck & Hüser, 2012).
- **Social and economic causes:** In this context, issues such as income inequality, condensation of wealth, economic concession and decline, food price inflation, and poverty were prominent, and led to the uprisings (Malik & Awadallah, 2013).
- **Demographic causes:** These involve the high number of youth among the population in the Arab world, and the high percentage of educated people, which strengthened the protests, especially through the use of social media (Mirkin, 2013).

The Arab revolutions have overthrown four of the most powerful and long-standing regimes in the Arabic region. These include the Tunisian President, Bin Ali, as noted above, the Egyptian former President, Hosni Mubarak, the Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi who was killed during the Libyan revolution, and the Yemeni former President, Ali Abdullah Saleh. Civil war erupted across Syria and is on-going. In this study, I am mainly interested in investigating how the Libyan civil war is represented in English and Arabic newspapers. I outline the reasons for this in the following section.

### 1.2.2 The Libyan uprisings

On February 17<sup>th</sup> 2011, the Libyan uprisings started in the Libyan city of Benghazi, and were led by young people who demanded political, economic, and social reforms. On Thursday, October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011 Muammar Qaddafi was killed in Sirte, his last stronghold, and the place he declared to be Libya's new capital after the fall of Tripoli. After about a month, Saif al-Islam, Qaddafi's most prominent son, was arrested and then transported by a plane to Tripoli. This stage represented the end of Qaddafi's regime which had lasted for more than 40 years.

Libya was selected as a focus of this research although the Arab Spring has affected several Arab countries as the five categories below show:

- **The fall of the ruling regime:** Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen.
- **Civil War:** Syria (on-going), and Libya
- **Major protests:** Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, and Oman.
- **Minor protests:** Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon.
- **No protests:** Qatar and the United Arab Emirates

The first two categories were widely and thoroughly covered by different media outlets when compared to the other categories. The ruling regimes of the countries mentioned in the first category were swept away by popular revolts, while the countries in the second category witnessed civil wars. Events in Syria are still on-going, which renders studying the period following the revolution difficult. Libya occurs in both the first and second categories, in addition to that it can be described as a special case because it is oil rich, scarcely populated, and does not present immediate proclivity towards Islamic radicalism.

Libya is different because of its leader Muammar Qaddafi who was unlikely to step down in response to the popular pressure. His reported use of mercenaries to thrust war against his own civilians has been viewed as a brutal act of a dictator (Fahim & El Sheikh, 2013). Qaddafi was known for publishing his 'Green book' in which he rejected liberal democracy. Qaddafi was also cited by the media at the Arab League summit in 2009 saying: "I am an international leader, the dean of the Arab rulers, the king of kings of Africa and the imam (leader) of Muslims, and my international status does not allow me to descend to a lower level". Libya is considered as a special case because of Qaddafi's forty-two years of dictatorship, during which he committed mass atrocities, destroyed the institutions of civil society, and demolished and cancelled political life at all levels (Oakes, 2011). Qaddafi's years of aggression against the West, some African and Arab countries, and the Libyan people themselves, contributed to Libya's isolation, and despite so, it is sometimes argued that the European countries allowed Qaddafi to manipulate them (Chorin, 2012).



Libya is different because it is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, with 44.3 billion barrels of proven oil reserves in 2010 according to BP Statistical Review of World Energy (British Petroleum Company, 2010). Libya has a small population, but they did not get much benefit of the oil due to Qaddafi's patronage to many events, not for the sake of helping others, but to promote himself and keep his popularity as the king of Africa (Chorin, 2012). Qaddafi's family accumulated wealth, while the ordinary Libyan people complained about the unequal distribution of oil revenues. Qaddafi promised several times to distribute oil proceeds among the Libyan people as part of political reforms and to root out endemic corruption in the state, but little actually happened (Hagger, 2009). Libya is different because of its poor internal situation which is not commensurate with the size of the wealth of a country that is endowed with the continent's largest reserves of oil. There have been few clubs in Libya, and the mosques were kept under tight surveillance. Schoolchildren spent two hours every week studying Qaddafi's Green Book or what he called Arab Socialism (Babington, 2011). Libya is different because it is the only Arab country in the era of the Arab Spring that witnessed a military intervention by a multi-state coalition based on the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 authorising a no-fly zone over Libya, calling for an immediate cease-fire, and taking all necessary measures to protect civilians. In its early stages, the international coalition was led by Britain and France in cooperation with the United States before the NATO took responsibility of implementing the no-fly-zone and launching air strikes against the Qaddafi regime.

In summary, Libya is different because its leader ruled the country for almost four decades that resulted in UN sanctions and Libya's status as a pariah state. Libya is also different because it is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, but still its internal situation is poor. Libya and Qaddafi are indeterminate objects in both Arab and global ideologies; Qaddafi is a self-produced object, and the country is both ideal and anomalous in Arab discourse, and this makes them fruitful topics for further investigation. In 2011, Libya witnessed a civil war that led to the deaths of tens of thousands of people, and was the only Arab Spring country, at the time of writing, that witnessed a military intervention by a multi-state coalition. Moreover, the case of chaos that spread the country before and after NATO intervention represents an unexpected event that newspapers are likely to find newsworthy. In addition, when comparing Libya with the other mainly affected Arab Spring countries, I found that the duration of the Libyan uprisings was not too short as in the

Tunisian and Egyptian cases (less than one month), and not too long like the civil war in Syria (2011-ongoing), and this enables me to track the news coverage, examine the created discourses over the whole period of the uprisings, and then compare them with the ones created two years before and two years after.

### **1.3 The power of language and the Arab Spring**

Language plays an important role in society, and a lot of our actions are influenced and prepared by language (Bayram, 2010). Wodak and Ludwig (1999) point out that language manifests and constitutes social processes and interaction. Language is closely bound up with identity formation, and has a key role in creating power relations in society. It plays a crucial role in forming lots of people's attitude and ideologies; influencing and urging them, in some cases, to act in a specific way rather than another (Bayram, 2010). The power of language appears more at the times of conflict and war where the different involved parties tend to represent themselves positively and represent others negatively. Similarly, in any event of massive protest, one of the important instruments is the use of language to influence the actions of protesters (Filali-Ansary, 2012).

In the events of the Arab uprisings, language is considered a critical component that played an important role in forming the attitudes and ideologies of most Arab people (Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012). Michel (2013) argues that pro-revolutionary forces used certain kinds of speeches and slogans to encourage and motivate people to protest against their ruling regimes. Similarly, poets, commentators, religious scholars, journalists, and other authors were seen as warriors because their words were used to provoke the revolutionary movements (Michel, 2013). Also, the ruling regimes and their governments realized that language does not act passively and observed its role as an ideological tool, and so increased and tightened their censorship over broadcasting and publishing (Ghadbian, 2012). They also used media as a diplomacy tool in order to send messages for the public both inside and outside. Even the presidents of the main involved Arab Spring countries used the tool of language and delivered different speeches using the discourses of unity, patriotism and change in an attempt to convince the protesters that they are sincere in their promises of reform. Accordingly, it seems that the role of language was remarked in this era of protests where the different involved parties tried to promote their ideologies mainly through

language. The uprisings in the Arab world were densely covered by media organisations. However, it seems that there was an inconsistency in their coverage of the different uprisings based on the country where the events happen; for example Alalawi (2015) argues that Al-Jazeera remained mostly silent in terms of the Bahraini revolution broadcasting when compared to some other countries like Egypt. Similarly, Salaita (2012) points out that the NYT densely covered the unrest in Syria, when compared to its coverage of the Saudi and Bahraini uprisings.

In this study, I examine the representation of the 2011 Libyan uprisings and the accompanying social and political actions, and highlight the role that language plays in constructing these actions. In the process, four newspapers published in Arabic and English are analyzed. Two languages are selected to check if there are any differences in the discussed themes/topics in the two Arabic newspapers when compared with their western counterparts bearing in mind that language could be reported differently when directed to different types of audiences (Grassi & Barker, 2009). Uysal (2012) argues that there is a significant divergence in the content and approach of Al-Jazeera's Arabic and English versions in spite of the common ownership; mainly because of the editorial preferences and audience expectations. For example, the Arabic broadcasting appears to present a more Third World and pan-Arab orientation, while the English broadcasting appears to display a more international approach. Uysal (2012) concludes that such difference in media framing between Arabic and English media organisations can be attributed to the differences in the cultural backgrounds of the international and Arab journalists as well as the culture of the audience.

#### **1.4 Media & politics and this Study**

There is a strong relationship between media and politics; where media is a central arena for viewing the political events. The political coverage does not occur in a vacuum (Wolfsfeld, 2011). Also, politics has an impact on the news media. This section discusses why this study examines newspaper texts, and raises some issues related to the question of how media struggle to gain autonomy.

### **1.4.1 Why examine newspapers?**

Since their emergence, newspapers prove to be useful resources in society (Vasundara Priya & Ravi, 2016). Newspapers as a channel of mass media are chosen as the focus of this thesis because of their importance in the contemporary society with the integral role they play in framing the world around us (Copeland, 2003). Newspapers are powerful institutions that enable their owners or those in power to impose a policy of exclusion on others who do not belong to them by controlling what to display or hide (Pasha, 2011).

Newspapers have the privilege to decide which events should be covered more or less than others and the extent and frequency of coverage is often based on their political stance. This process of selection and representation empowers newspapers to select, highlight or even reject discussing or presenting certain topics, events and people. Newspapers have a clear effect on producing and reproducing of discourses, influencing their readers' ideas and reshaping them (Copeland, 2003). However, the readers are not passive or naive since they may stop buying a particular newspaper if they disagree with the discourse it employs (Cooper, 2008), and this is why different articles written by different journalists with different political stances can be found within the same newspaper (Lasorsa, 1991). Also, readers are not passive in their reading, and meaning is produced from interaction between a text and its readers, as McIlvenny (1996) argues. In addition to the points discussed above, newspapers were selected as a source of data for this study because of the availability for corpus compilation.

### **1.4.2 Autonomy of journalism**

The public agenda can be 'set' by media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Selecting a particular event to cover and report is not random, and the stories that appear in the newspaper pages go through a set of decisions before arriving there (Phillips, 2015). Having a certain degree of autonomy is one of the most important aspects of journalism. Autonomy in journalism implies that the media company should be independent from other political and social/economic institutions (Örnebring, 2013). According to Carpentier (2005), journalistic autonomy indicates having the freedom to speak on the one hand, and the freedom from

interference in that activity on the other hand bearing in mind that the whole process might be affected by the pressure coming from the political and commercial power outside and within the media.

Autonomy in journalism has two main dimensions; external and internal (Reich & Hanitzsch, 2013). The external level is related to the powers that exist in society, and is connected with some vital issues such as censorship, policy, legislation and regulation, and direct control by the state that restricts the political autonomy of the news organisation. In the countries that have strong liberal traditions, journalism is said to have such an independent position early on (Nygren, Dobek-Ostrowska, & Anikina, 2015), while in authoritarian countries, achieving such dimension of autonomy has involved longer process. However, in both cases, and even if the external autonomy is achieved, there is a strong tendency at the time of crises from external powers to control or even increase their control on media. Schudson (2003) argues that such control could be laws and regulations, financial pressure and expanding Public Relations (PR) machinery.

Internal autonomy is related to the position of journalists in relation to the owner of the media organisation, and other departments in that organisation, and their ability to make decisions free from the pressures that might be sourced from management, forces inside the news environment and commercial factors. Historically speaking, in Europe and due to the relations between the owners of media and political parties and powers, journalists were supposed to reflect the political point of view of the media institution where they work (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Nygren et al. (2015) argue that the financial aspect is one of the critical factors of internal autonomy especially in the age of the party press and market-driven journalism where a strong link should be kept between the newsroom and the marketing department. These two dimensions suggest that different actors are involved in taking the media content, and different factors influence the media selection of news, and these include the audience interest, the editorial policy of the media company, its political affiliation, and the influence of advertisers businesses outside the media company. Similarly, in the process of producing news, there are some factors, other than journalistic standards, that determine the news selection and might cause some limitations on the autonomy of the reporters and the production of news. These include, according to Sjovaag (2013), institutional practices, conflict avoidance, and editorial hierarchy. Similarly, Altschull (1997)

points out that there is a direct correlation between the content of the press and the interests of those who finance them.

Although journalism is supposed to play an active role by monitoring and reporting on government mistakes and corruption, the level of autonomy in journalism is also affected by the politics of the countries where the media organisations operate; for example Reich and Hanitzsch (2013, p. 150) argue that “high professional autonomy among journalists correspond with higher levels of press freedom and lower levels of state intervention in the media”. Reich and Hanitzsch also observe that the autonomy perceived by the journalists working in Western countries is more than the autonomy their colleagues in non-democratic countries have. The level of autonomy is also affected by the professional norms and practices of journalism according to which the news institution should maintain and legitimise the existing political order (McChesney, 2003). For example, Kristensen and Ørsten (2007) examined the coverage of the 2003 Iraq war by Danish media, and found that although the media tried to remain free from the national or international political agendas, they could not. Instead, they became voices for the central coalition players and their version of the reality of war.

In the context of the Arab Spring, Eskjær (2012) argues that the era of the Arab uprisings has brought an unprecedented attention from the international media outlets to the Arab world, and the main Arab Spring countries were subject to intense press coverage. There are different factors that influence the media’s tendency to ‘systematically’ downplay or densely cover some events. These include newsworthiness, the policies of the country where the media organization operates, and news sources in relation to Western and non-Western countries. Regarding the political aspect, it is argued that the news agenda can be shaped by the state through direct ownership and media sources’ control (Enikolopov, Petrova, & Zhuravskaya, 2010), or through regulating the activity of privately owned media by placing licensing requirements and imposing laws that limit the use of particular forms of expression (Whitten-Woodring & James, 2012). In the Arab region, there are many challenges that journalism faces, and these include *access to information* where there is no clear policy regarding the freedom of information in the Arab world; *state control* where most Arab states are authoritarian systems, and so the media space is limited, and sometime newspapers are forced to be mouth pieces of the regime, and *social pressures* where newspapers might find

themselves restrained not only by the state, but with the society that sometimes criticizes and accuses them of being foreign-funded to destroy the country.

Bebawi (2015) points out that most of the media in the Arab world are state-monitored. To some extent, such media have functioned as a platform for the states which have full control over media taking it as a tool to influence and mobilise the Arab audience, propagate the government's achievements, and glorify the state's officials and elites. In the process, they take part in the process of news production providing guidance for the editors and ordering them "to ignore sensitive issues rather than to exploit certain themes for their propaganda value" (Rugh, 2004, p. 194). As a result, the Arab audience have doubted most news they hear, see, and read in their national media which very rarely investigate or criticize what the leaders of the countries do or say (Miles, 2006). However, the emergence of pan-Arab newspapers and satellite channels dedicated for news in the Arab world opened the communicative space, and gave the opportunity for the Arab audience to be exposed to other perspectives on the reported matter.

In more democratic societies, free and pluralistic journalism is a crucial component. In such societies, journalism watches closely and criticizes the actions of the government and plays a vital role in providing people with some information that helps them participate in governmental decisions. To achieve this, journalism needs to be free from the state and those in power (political influence), ownership, and economic pressures. When comparing the Western media with their Arab counterpart in terms of the political context where they are based and published and the government pressure on them, it can be hypothesized that the reporting of the former (due to the limited government pressure) should reflect the preference of the media organization that aims in most cases to maximize readership and revenue, while the reporting in the latter, due to the political constraints, should reflect the preference of the state where they are located. In the context of the Arab uprisings, Baum and Zhukov (2015) argue that media in democratic societies are in the majority of cases independent from the influence of the government as they mainly care about profit maximization, and have their own institutional biases that tend to cover the events that have bad happenings such as wars and conflicts favouring anti-regime forces. However, the authoritarian governments favour coverage that emphasizes the legitimacy of the status quo since they care more about their political survival. However, this does not mean that media institutions operating in Western

democratic countries are immune from state influence. For example, at the time of wars and conflicts, there are restrictions in reporting even in democratic states. These can be related to direct government censorship (Roeder, 1995), and rally-around-the-flag effects (Groeling & Baum, 2008). Moreover, the state and media preferences may align.

With regard to this thesis, two hypotheses can be derived from the discussion above: first, the non-Arabic media might cover the events differently, and perhaps more openly, because of the high level of censorship on media in the Arab world, and second that the different types of media in the Arab world, both pan-Arab and national, might have different coverage of the event because the former is usually located outside the borders of the Arab region, mainly in European cities, and have a higher degree of freedom than the latter (Eugenio, 2013). Also, in this thesis by quantitatively and qualitatively using corpus linguistic techniques, I examine the coverage of Western and Arab newspapers of the era of the Arab Spring to check whether for the newspaper to be published in a country whose government is authoritarian or democratic affects the process of news reporting or not.

## **1.5 Pan-Arab public opinion**

Lynch (2003) notes that the mass media, including social media, played an important role in the Arab world. The Arab media typically focus on broad Arab concerns, for example by hosting many political and religious figures from all over the Arab and Islamic world, along with the foreign analysts who reflect the “others” point of view on what’s happening around the globe. However, to have a better understanding of the media role in the era of the Arab uprisings, some historical aspects are needed. In the 1970s and 1980s, most Arab countries had severely oppressive forms of censorship on the media which represented a tool of mobilizing people in the service of power (Rugh, 2004). In that period, and although a very small number of people tried to get their news from BBC radio broadcasts being an independent source of information, most people continued to watch and follow national media. In the 1990s and 2000s, things changed with the emergence of Al-Jazeera. By the late 2000s, most Arabs had the options to choose from hundreds of free satellite channels, and Internet access became present in some key cities. Lynch (2015) pointed out that “these changes transformed the Arab world from an informational black hole into a media-saturated society” (p. 92).



What distinguishes some of the pan-Arab media from their Western and even national counterparts is allowing the Arab people to watch the events that play a critical role in their lives through Arab eyes by emphasizing the pan-Arab themes of identity and nationalism, including the idea that all Arabs could and must be united (Uysal, 2012). Such media tries to bring the Arab masses together by informing pan-Arab public opinions over many issues. For example, if an Arab scientist/writer won a prize or discovered something, pan-Arab media might report the event as “*an Arab scientist/writer won the Nobel Prize...*” even if he is living in the United States and originally from Egypt, although more focus is logically supposed to be directed to the scientist himself not his country or origin. An example of this is the Egyptian writer Naguib Mahfouz, the winner of the 1988 Nobel Prize for Literature, who is said to be the *only Arab* to have won the award (Asharq Al-Awsat, 2001). In the same vein, in the 2014 World Cup in Brazil, Algeria is said to fly the flag for the *Arab world* (Asharq Al-Awsat, 2014). By doing so, they are sending a message to the viewers or readers that they should be proud of the achievements of “Arabs” as if they are one body. Most Pan-Arab media tend to encourage Arab people to share each other’s problems and concerns, and often rely on political issues (Hafez, 2008).

Although it is not an easy matter to understand how people in a particular geographical region think, the Arab uprisings have indicated that the mass public, or ‘Arab street’, is not false and can affect any governmental policies and ruling regimes. Lynch (2013) highlights the vital role that media played in the 2011 uprisings in the Arab world, pointing out that the protests were driven by the different media outlets. In the same vein, it appears that the different types of media during the Arab uprisings brought “critical news and opinion to a broad public, gave voice to the voiceless, built ties between activists and ordinary citizens, and linked local protests into a powerful master narrative of regional uprising”(Lynch, 2015, p. 90).

After the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, media played a critical role in promoting and publicizing the Tunisian protests that started late 2010, and so contributed in spreading protests from one country to another (Lynch, 2015). In the same vein, and regarding the national media, different new newspapers, and radio and television channels were opened in different Arab countries after the outbreak of the uprisings. However, and since media is strongly linked with the political sphere, most of these new media outlets, after the failure of

most of the Arab uprisings, were turned to the advantages of the former regimes and old elites. Lynch (2015, p. 98) noted that “the same media that helped to launch the Arab uprisings proved equally effective at driving resentment, fear, and division while demobilizing exhausted publics”.

Because of the importance of the media in the Arab uprisings, this study examines texts from four newspapers: two Arabic and two English. I elaborate on the choice of newspapers further below, but before that, in the next main subsection, I provide theoretical background to the thesis, and to the combination of discourse analysis and corpus methods.

## **1.6 Methodological framework (Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis)**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) grew rapidly during the last decade of the 20th century as a continuation of critical linguists’ work in the 1970s (Barletta Manjarrés, 2007). This paradigm has attracted many scholars, especially those who are interested in investigating the relationship between language, power, ideology and society (Van Dijk, 1998). Often, CDA scholars undertake close qualitative analyses of single or small collections of texts, while also taking into account the historical, social, and political contexts most relevant to the texts’ production and comprehension (Wodak, 2001). Corpus Linguistics (CL), on the other hand, is traditionally concerned with the quantitative analyses of very large quantities of text, much of which is conducted computationally and (at least partially) automatically, and this has drawn criticism from some researchers, who argue that CL is an unsuitable way to study texts unless the social, political and/or historical context is to be taken into account (Hardt-Mautner, 2007; Widdowson, 2000). CDA approaches have also been criticised by proponents of CL who argue that the data typically examined in such work is a result of ‘cherry picking’ (Koller & Hardt-Mautner, 2004; Stubbs, 1997) rather than an objective analysis.

However, over the last 20 years or so there has been an explosion of work which has combined aspects of these two approaches into a mutually beneficial ‘methodological synergy’ (Baker et al., 2008). Baker et al. (2008) and Baker (2012) argue that the most

fruitful approach is to combine CL's quantitative and CDA's qualitative approaches and use them cyclically, such that claims arising from one analytical position are testable with the tools of the other. This avoids the unhelpful argument concerning whether a qualitative or quantitative analysis is 'best', and acknowledges that there are insights to be gleaned from a combined approach. Hardt-Mautner (1995) was among the first scholars to attempt this. In the same vein, Stubbs (1995, 1997) and Flowerdew (1997) paid some attention to the benefits of combining quantitative and qualitative techniques. The combination has since developed rapidly (see Baker, 2006; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Koller & Hardt-Mautner, 2004; Marchi & Taylor, 2009; O'Halloran & Coffin, 2004; Partington, 2009; Stubbs, 2006). As noted above, CDA analysts have faced the accusation of cherry picking (Koller & Hardt-Mautner, 2004) and are criticised for selecting small and unrepresentative data samples that suit their existing hypotheses. It has been argued that choosing only a small amount of texts, along with the theoretical overload (Widdowson, 1998), can lead to merely finding what is expected to be found (Stubbs, 1997). Hardt-Mautner (1995) discusses the drawbacks of relying mainly on a qualitative approach, and states that "what is gained in terms of depth is usually lost in terms of breadth; the more detailed and holistic the method, the less data one can reasonably hope to cope with" (p. 3). Conversely, corpus linguistics has been criticised for being a quantitative approach that pays little attention to contextual factors, which are considered to be among the most important for CDA (Widdowson, 2000). Combining both approaches has been variously advocated by different scholars in order to complement the weaknesses of each method and strengthen the findings of the study being conducted (see e.g. Baker et al., 2008; Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013b; Salama, 2011). In spite of the rapid development of this combination over the last two decades, it is very rare to find studies that applied the combination on Arabic texts (see Kandil, 2009 as an example). By analysing both Arabic and English texts, this study highlights the difficulties and challenges that researchers might face while working on languages other than English.

In this thesis, this combination of methods will be used to carry out a contrastive and diachronic analysis of the representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* from January 2009 to December 2013 in four English and Arabic newspapers. The five-year period (2009-2013) further divided into three periods: pre-, during, and post uprisings as shown in table 1.1.

Table 1.1: The three investigated periods in this research

Dividing the articles into three periods				
Pre-uprisings		During-uprisings	Post-uprisings	
January 2009	December 2010	2011	January 2012	December 2013

These three time periods (pre-, during, and after the uprisings) were selected in order to chronologically examine whether the newspapers had the same, similar, or different coverage over time. In the process, the pre-uprisings period will be taken as a baseline, and its analysis will be taken as a benchmark or a starting point to measure and assess the newspapers' style and type of coverage in the other two periods. It is expected that the newspapers' coverage will be different at different times. For example, in periods two and three, the coverage may be affected by some factors related to the pressure of the international community and general public opinion against Qaddafi especially after his 'violence' in facing the 2011 Libyan uprisings and his decision to fight his own people.

## 1.7 Research objectives and questions

### 1.7.1 Research objectives

The objectives of this study can be categorised into three types, namely: Arab Spring related objectives, media related objectives, and methodology related objectives. I elaborate on each type below.

#### ✓ Arab Spring related objectives

The study contributes to uncovering discourses about the representation of the Arab Spring in general and the 2011 Libyan civil war in particular. This is achieved by carrying out quantitative and qualitative analyses of the Libyan uprisings and some other events involved such as the overthrowing of the long-standing ruling regime of Qaddafi, the economic impact of the event, the rise of Islamists to power, and the growth of terrorist "extremist" groups. In addition, the study contributes to uncovering how some institutions in the West read what is happening in the Arab region, and so take actions based on that. For example, intervening in one Arabic country (Libya), and rejecting to do so in another (Syria) although

they faced similar if not the same degree of cruelty from their ruling regimes. This is mainly done by investigating the coverage of the two English-language newspapers, bearing in mind that they are located and mainly published in the United States and Britain; two strong and influential actors not only in the politics of the Middle East, but also the world.

#### ✓ **Media related objectives**

This study investigates how newspapers use language to represent social events and form social practices. As the main interest of this research is the Libyan case, this study attempts to show how the period of the Libyan uprisings is represented in the media, especially newspapers. This research examines the language of newspapers and their role in influencing people's attitudes and ideologies based on their agendas and ideologies. This study also examines how language can be affected by governmental policies, i.e. how the language of media is influenced by the ideology and agendas of the countries where the media organisations are located.

#### ✓ **Methodology related objectives**

The number of studies that have used the combination of CDA and CL is small when compared to the proportion of the studies held by each method separately. Accordingly, this study contributes to the amount of research that combines both CL and CDA bearing in mind that it is rare to find corpus based/driven CDA studies on Arabic texts (see Kandil, 2009 as an example). Given the syntactic complexity and morphological and semantic richness of the Arabic language, this study also aims to examine the challenges of applying corpus linguistic techniques and CDA frameworks on texts written in Arabic. These might be related to the structure, morphology, writing style, spelling, and other fields of the Arabic language. What distinguishes this thesis is its use of the different corpus linguistic tools in one work such as frequency, concordance, collocation, and keywords when compared with some other studies which tend to mainly focus on one CL tools in uncovering ideologies (see Baker, 2005; Kim, 2014; Salama, 2011).

### 1.7.2 Research questions

The objectives above are examined via 5 research questions, which are:

**1:** Are there any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* in *The Guardian*, *The NYT*, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013?

**2:** What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in

**A:** the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

**B:** during the uprisings (2011)?

**C:** post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

**3:** What does a keyword analysis reveal about the most salient themes in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* on the other one in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt* in

**A:** the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

**B:** during the uprisings (2011)?

**C:** post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

**4:** What does a collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* and other related terms reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published in

**A:** the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

**B:** during the uprisings (2011)?

**C:** post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

**5:** In what ways is the era of the Arab Spring defined and constructed in periods 2 (2011) and 3 (2012/2013) in Arabic and English newspapers' articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt*?

As discussed above, this study examines the representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* before, during, and after the 2011 Arab uprisings, so research question (1) investigates whether the era of uprisings in general and the Libyan civil war in particular represented a turning point on how *Libya* and *Qaddafi* are constructed in media. This is mainly achieved by examining

whether there are any constant/frequent discourses with Qaddafi over a time span of five years (2009-2013). For example, if some words like *dictator* and *tyrant* appeared in the three time periods, this implies that such description is constant with Qaddafi; however if these words began to appear in the second and third periods, then we can conclude with the help of other textual and contextual information that the uprisings affected how some countries/people are constructed in media. Research question (2) is related to research question (1) with more focus on the *different* themes discussed in the three time periods in the four investigated newspapers.

The third research question (3) is mainly related to the similarities/differences between the investigated newspapers, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* on the one hand, and the *Guardian* and the *NYT* on the other one. The study investigates whether *Al-Khaleej*, a UAE national newspaper, will give as much space to the era of Arab Spring and some involved events as *Asharq Al-Awsat* or not. Regarding the English newspapers, the study checks whether the *NYT* will have more coverage of the event than *The Guardian* due to the US policy in the Middle East and its interest in the region.

Research question (4) is mainly related to the representation of the Libyan regime of Qaddafi. It checks whether Qaddafi will be represented neutrally and even positively in period 1, and negatively in periods 2 and 3. It further discusses if *Qaddafi* will be represented in a relatively lenient (neutral) way in the two Arabic newspapers, and a harsh way in *the NYT* and *the Guardian*. Research question (5) is related to the main investigated phenomenon in this thesis, and checks whether the Arab Spring uprisings are represented/framed differently or similarly in Arabic and English newspapers bearing in mind that the event itself occurred in the Arab region, and mainly affected the Arab people.

Answering these questions will contribute to having a better understanding of how the era of the Arab uprisings in general and the Libyan civil war in particular are represented by newspapers published in Arabic and English over a time period of 5 years. This study also examines the efficiency of the combination of CDA and CL when applied on languages other than English on a recent phenomenon that drew the attention of most of national and international media outlets.

## **1.8 Research gap**

This study, as mentioned above, contributes to the growing body of studies which combine CDA with the methodological framework of CL by examining the patterns of representation of the Arab Spring in English and Arabic newspapers. Since the outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2011, also as noted above, many scholars have conducted several studies about this era from different points of view - politically, economically, socially, and linguistically (see Abu Hatab, 2013; Al-Ali, 2012; Al-Anani, 2012; Jones, 2012a; Michel, 2013; Springborg, 2011a). Some of these studies discussed the mass media coverage of the Arab Spring (see Al Nahed, 2015; Bardici, 2012; Baum & Zhukov, 2015; Cottle, 2011; Dağtaş, 2013; Ledwell, 2012; Seeberg & Shteivi, 2014; Seo, 2013). Other studies used traditional critical discourse analysis frameworks to interpret some different aspects of this era (see Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012; Maalej, 2012; Skulte-Ouaiss & Baroudi, 2015; Teti, 2012).

However, most of these studies used a relatively small amount of data, and paid little or no attention to the newspaper coverage of different languages and different regions. Therefore, one of the research gaps that this study fills is working on a large amount of data to examine the discursive strategies that some Arabic and English newspapers used to cover the Arab uprisings in general and the Libyan civil war in particular. Carrying out such research on a large corpus is considered worthwhile given one of the perceived major weaknesses of using CDA, whereby CDA analysts are often criticised for their subjectivity (Koller & Hardt-Mautner, 2004; Stubbs, 1997). To reduce such type of criticism, this research uses a range of CL methods. This approach arguably increases the degree of objectivity of this research (Partington, 2006). This study further contributes to having a better understanding of how the policies and ideologies of where a newspaper is located may affect how certain events are represented. This study also contributes to the corpus-assisted discourse studies on Arabic texts by investigating the general challenges involved in doing such type of a research on languages other than English.

## **1.9 The outline of this thesis**

The thesis is divided into two broad sections; the first section (chapters 1-4) provides crucial background and a comprehensive framework to the study, while the second section



comprises chapters five to eight and includes the analysis of the data, explanations and interpretations of the findings, and recommendations and implications for future research. This chapter (1) has given a brief introduction to the investigated topic and has set out the main focus of the thesis. It has also introduced the methodological and theoretical background, and the overarching goals of the research, the study questions and objectives, and research gaps.

In chapter two, I elaborate on the contextual background for the investigated era by including some historical, cultural, and social aspects that are related to *Libya* and *Qaddafi*, and the Arab Spring in general. The first part of chapter 2 includes some information about *Libya* with a timeline of its history with some focus on the last 5 years (2009-2013), and includes information about the former Libyan president Muammar *Qaddafi*. The second part of chapter 2 provides details about the era of the Arab Spring, the etymology of the phrase, the countries mainly affected, its causes and consequences, and the role of young people and social media in affecting the event. Chapter 2 concludes with the timelines of the event and the summary of its outcomes. Chapter 2, therefore, provides the necessary background for the analysis which is to follow.

Chapter three explores relevant theoretical and methodological literature. The first part of chapter 3 defines the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. It begins by introducing the aims of CDA, discussing whether it is a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach, and what makes it *critical*. It also discusses its principles and main directions (approaches), its relations with media discourse, and the criticisms that have been directed towards it. I then turn to corpus linguistics, and begin by introducing the field considering discussions about whether it is a methodology or a theory of language, and discussing advantages of using corpora and various corpus linguistic techniques. This part ends with a discussion of the combination of CDA and CL, including the history of combination and how it enables researchers to uncover or explore discourses. I also mention the perceived advantages of the combination, as well as points of concern that have been raised in the literature. In the second part of chapter 3, I discuss a range of corpus-based studies. The literature explication in this section underpins some of the previous studies that used corpora in uncovering discourses. Chapter 3, in summary, provides the necessary theoretical and methodological background for the current thesis.

I discuss the research method and design of this study in chapter four, which begins with some considerations of designing corpora for discourse analysis studies, and some practical constraints in designing corpora in general. I also provide specific information about the corpora used in this thesis, including information about the analysed newspapers, with the reasons why they were selected, and some statistics about the size of the collected data. I also provide details about how the collected data was organized and then analysed using CL analytical software. Chapter 4, therefore, provides the necessary information about the data on which this thesis is based.

The second main section of the thesis comprises the analysis chapters (5, 6, and 7) in addition to the conclusion chapter (8). In the analysis chapters, the three time periods are analysed in turn namely the pre-uprisings (2009-2010), during the uprisings (2011), and post-uprisings (2012-2013). For each time period, a similar approach is followed. First, a frequency analysis is used to uncover the different themes or news foci. Second, a keyword analysis is used to identify the similarities and differences between the investigated newspapers. Third, a collocation analysis for *Qaddafi* is used to explore how he is diachronically represented in the corpus, and to check whether the Arab uprisings represented a turning point in the newspapers' stance towards the regime of Qaddafi or not. Each section ends with a summary, discussion, and interpretation of findings.

Chapter eight concludes the study, summarizes the major research findings, discusses its contributions and impact, identifies its limitations, and makes recommendations for further studies.

## **2. CHAPTER TWO**

### **Contextual Background**

In this chapter, I investigate the historical, social, and political contexts of the Arab Spring countries in general and *Libya* in particular. As discussed in chapter 1, this study has content-based objectives that are related to uncovering discourses about the representation of the Arab Spring, Libya, and Qaddafi. Since the results of corpus analysis are descriptive in nature in most cases, studying the political, social, and cultural background of the investigated phenomenon can play a significant role in interpreting and explaining these findings. Moreover, understanding the contextual aspects of the aftermath of the Arab Spring is required to explain any change observed in the newspapers' style in covering some events related to this era. This chapter is divided into two main parts; part 1 includes a contextual background about *Libya* and the *Qaddafis*, while part 2 provides some details about the era of the Arab Spring.

#### **2.1. Libya and the Qaddafis**

Libya is a country located in North Africa. It borders Algeria to the west and Tunisia to the north-west, Egypt to the east, Chad and Niger to the south, Sudan to the south-east, and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. Libya's official language is Arabic, and English is considered to be the second language. Also, some of the population speaks French or Italian. Libya is a member of the League of Arab States, the African Union, and the United Nations. The population of Libya was recorded at about 6.2 million people in 2013 (The World Bank, 2013), which is small when compared to the large area of the country with a landmass of about 679,500 square miles. The landmass of Libya makes the country seventeenth in the world and the fourth largest country in Africa in terms of area (Falola, Morgan, & Oyeniyi, 2012). Libya also has huge oil reserves as it produced 1.5 m to 1.6 m barrels per day until the outbreak of the uprisings when the production turned out to be below 100,000 barrels per day, which is less than a tenth capacity, based on the U.S. Energy Information Administration (2013) as shown in figure 2.1.

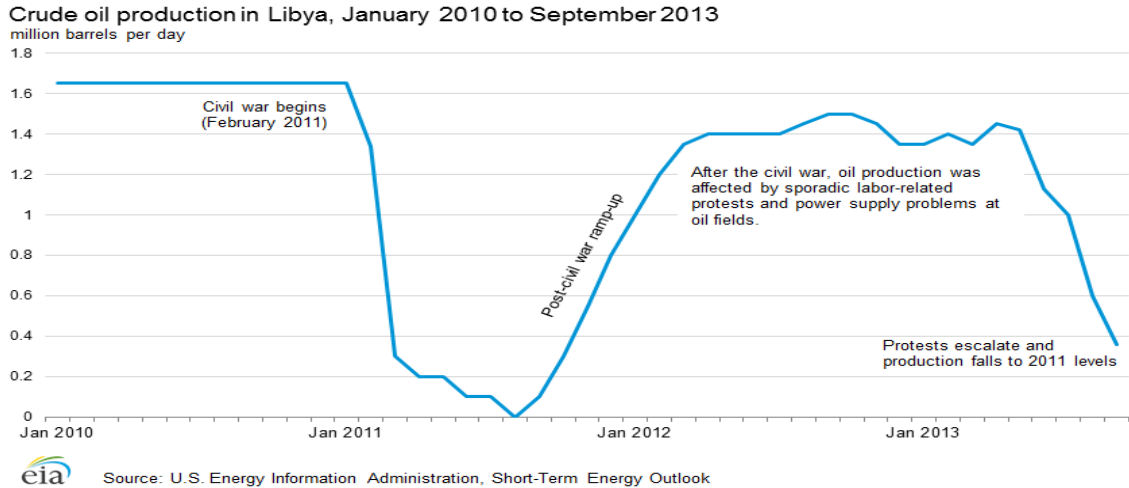


Figure 2.1: Crude Oil production in Libya from 2010 to 2013 (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2013)

Libya had the 4<sup>th</sup> longest reigning non-royal national leader since 1900 after Cuba, North Korea, and Mongolia, and the longest-ruling leader in the Arab world (The Guardian, 2011c). Known as Colonel Qaddafi, the Guide of the Revolution of Libya, and the Brotherly Leader, the former Libyan president's full name is Muammar Muhammad Abu Minyar Qaddafi. Qaddafi ruled Libya for about 42 years after founding a revolutionary cell within the military in 1969 that took the power from King Idris in a bloodless coup, dissolving the monarchy and announcing the Republic (Pargeter, 2012). Immediately after the coup, Qaddafi expelled the British forces and nationalized British Petroleum and rewrote the contracts with the existing oil companies (MacFarquhar, 2011). From 1969 to 1977, Qaddafi ruled the country as the Revolutionary Chairman of the Libyan Arab Republic, before turning the name of the country to be the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and calling himself the Brotherly Leader from 1977 to 2011 (Lobban & Dalton, 2014). In the early 1970s, Qaddafi proposed what he called the 'Third International Theory' that was inspired by Arab nationalism, Islamic socialism, and African nationalism as well as the principles of direct democracy (El-Khawwas, 1986). Qaddafi's political philosophy was outlined in his *Green Book* that was first published in 1975 and translated into English in 1976 (Asser, 2011). During his rule, there were many crucial issues that Libya was involved in due to the Qaddafi's policies, such as the border conflicts with Egypt and Chad, his support for different militants, the Lockerbie bombing and many other acts that contributed to making Libya internationally a pariah (Oakes, 2011). Qaddafi's hostility to the U.S. and some Western countries, in addition to his stance regarding different international issues,

led the United Nations to impose economic sanctions on Libya (Lopez & Myers, 1997). In 2011, as I discuss further in this chapter, the uprisings spread over Libya and caused the fall of the Qaddafi regime.

### **2.1.1. The history of Libya**

The historical development of Libya shows that the country has gone through different phases of developments and civilizations. For instance, it was historically documented that the ancient Greeks, the Phoenicians and the Romans were known to have established colonies in Libya (Harmon, 2014). Such civilizations were followed by the expansion of the Islamic caliphate that ruled most regions in North Africa and Spain. After that, Libya turned out to be a significant province of the Ottoman Empire from 1551 to 1912 before being pushed out by the Italians (Harmon, 2014). Since the period of the Italian colonization was hard, it motivated most Libyan tribes, led by Omar Mukhtar, to rebel against the Italian colonial forces (Santarelli, 1986).

However, twenty years of resistance failed to evict the Italians out of the country, and Omar Mukhtar was captured and hanged in 1931 (Santarelli, 1986). In 1940, during the 2nd World War, the Italian army was sent from Libya into Egypt to threaten the British. However, the British and Commonwealth 8th army toppled the Italian Empire in Libya and replaced it with a British Administration (Oakes, 2011). In 1951, Libya gained its independence, and was ruled by Sayyid Muhammad al-Idris as-Senussi. At first, the kingdom depended on the British forces, but after the discovery of oil, Libya changed from being dependent on the international aids to be an oil-rich monarchy (Vandewalle, 2012). While As-Senussi was abroad for medical treatment, a young Libyan officer, called Muammar Qaddafi, staged a coup on September 1969 (Rogan, 2011). Qaddafi then removed the British forces and nationalized British Petroleum and rewrote the contracts with the oil companies (Senauth, 2013). On 15 April 1986, the USA launched pre-emptive air strikes against Libya claiming that it harboured a number of terrorist groups (Magstadt, 2014). Libya, under Qaddafi's rule, was involved in many events that angered some powerful countries such as its acquisition of mustard gas and attempts to develop weapons of mass destruction, in addition to its role in the destruction of Pan American World Airways flight PA103 on December 1988 (Oakes, 2011).

As the Qaddafi regime became more and more autocratic, the Libyan people rose up against him, being influenced by the 2011 revolutionary movements that erupted in some of its neighbouring countries, especially Tunisia and Egypt (Guo & Stradiotto, 2014). On February 17<sup>th</sup> 2011, the Libyan uprisings broke out in the city of Benghazi, and were led by young people who demanded political, economic, and social reforms. Some days later, the protests spread over Tripoli, the Libyan capital city, and as a result, Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, appeared on state television and warned the protesters that Libya may descend into a civil war if they continued demonstrating. However, with the use of firearms and heavy aerial bombardment by the Qaddafi's battalions, elite troops, and militias to suppress the unarmed demonstrators, the peaceful protests turned into an armed revolution that sought to overthrow Qaddafi, who in turn vowed to fight until the last drop of blood (Raghavan, 2011). Such violence along with the high death toll motivated a lot of Libyan diplomats to resign (Moynihan, 2011). After the fall of Benghazi, Libya's second largest city, to rebel forces, some politicians, tribal leaders, former officers and academics demanded the formation of an interim government to represent Libya in the international events and to be the political face of the revolution, and this was welcomed and supported by many countries all around the world (see AlJazeera, 2011b). The opposition forces were initially able to take control over some Libyan territories, but the government forces were able, in most cases, to take back many of these areas especially near the Mediterranean coast.

In response to the bloody massacres committed by the regime of Qaddafi against the Libyan civilians, the United Nations Security Council authorised a "no-fly zone" over Libya on March 17<sup>th</sup> 2011, and a few days later, the UK, the USA and France carried out a bombing campaign against the pro-Qaddafi forces (BBC News, 2011a). After that, many European and Middle Eastern countries joined the international coalition. In August 2011, the Libyan opposition's armed forces began to flow to Tripoli, the capital city, with no or little resistance from the Qaddafi battalions (The Guardian, 2011b). The opposition forces also arrested Saif al-Islam and Mohammed Qaddafi, the sons of the former Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi, but Saif al-Islam reappeared in a video in an interview with a group of journalists confirming that he is free, and that his father and Tripoli, the capital city, are also fine (The Guardian, 2011a). Saif al-Islam also mocked the International Court of Justice for issuing an arrest warrant against him. On October 20<sup>th</sup> 2011, Muammar Qaddafi was killed in Sirte, his last stronghold, and the place he declared to be Libya's new capital after the fall of Tripoli, and was buried later in a secret location (Sky News, 2011). After about a month,

Saif al-Islam, against whom the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant, was arrested in the western mountain city of Zintan (AlJazeera, 2011c). This stage represented the end of the Qaddafi's regime, which had lasted for more than 40 years.

### **2.1.2. Qaddafi's sons and daughters**

Different members of Qaddafi's family were involved in Libya's politics. Some of these members will be referred to in chapter 5 due to their involvement in Libya's internal and external affairs before and during the 2011 uprisings. This section provides some notes of relevant background.

**Mohammed Qaddafi (born 1970):** He is Muammar's eldest son and the only child from his first marriage (Tharoor, 2011). After the uprisings, he fled to Algeria before going to Oman as a political refugee.

**Saif al-Islam Qaddafi (born 1972):** His name is translated as the sword of Islam. He received a PhD in Economics from the London School of Economics (LSE) in 2008. Before the outbreak of the uprisings, Saif al-Islam was considered to be the voice of reforms in Qaddafi's regime, and acted as the de facto prime minister of Libya although he had no official governmental position (Bassiouni, 2012). Saif al-Islam performed different international relations on behalf of his father, and was predicted to be the possible successor of him (The Telegraph, 2011). After the outbreak of the Libyan protests, Saif al-Islam appeared on state TV and denied that the government had launched airstrikes against the civilians (Michael & Bassem, 2011). He also warned the Libyan people of a possible civil war and promised to carry out reform. In June 2011, Saif-Islam stated that his father was willing to hold elections within three months in the presence of international observers (AlJazeera, 2011a). On June 27<sup>th</sup>, an arrest warrant for Saif al-Islam Qaddafi was issued by the International Criminal Court. After the death of his father, Saif-Islam appeared on one of the channels stating that he is alive, free and willing to fight to the end and take revenge (AhramOnline, 2011). Saif al-Islam was captured while trying to flee to Niger in November 2011 and went on trial in the western Libyan town of Zintan (AlJazeera, 2011c).

**Al-Saadi Qaddafi (born 1973):** He had a military rank of colonel, was a former international footballer, and had investments in numerous Hollywood movies (Holehouse, 2011). After the uprisings, he fled to Niger before being arrested and extradited to Libya.

**Mutassim Billah Qaddafi (born 1977):** Libya's National Security Adviser and Saif al-Islam's most apparent rival to the throne (Tharoor, 2011). After the uprisings, he was captured and killed.

**Ayesha Qaddafi (born 1976):** Qaddafi's only daughter, a lawyer and one of the team that defended Saddam Hussein in his last trial after the American invasion in 2003 (Daily Mail, 2011). After the uprisings, she fled to Algeria before going to Oman as a political refugee.

**Hannibal Qaddafi (born 1976):** He was known for his erratic behaviour and abuse of his servants (Samuel & Ramdani, 2013). He once attacked two Swiss staff, and was arrested with his wife by the Swiss authorities. After the uprisings, he fled to Algeria before going to Oman as a political refugee.

**Saif al-Arab Qaddafi (born 1982):** The least known of Qaddafi's children. He studied at Munich Business School (Tharoor, 2011). After the uprisings, he was killed in a NATO bombing raid on Tripoli.

**Khamis Qaddafi (born 1983):** He studied at a military academy in Russia, and commanded the 32<sup>nd</sup> Reinforced Brigade, an elite unit known as the Khamis Brigade (BBC News, 2011b). After the uprisings, he was killed by the Libyan rebels during the fall of Tripoli.

**Hana Qaddafi:** Qaddafi's adopted daughter. She is believed to have been killed in the US bombing in 1986, though it was reported later that she is still alive (Tharoor, 2011).

### **2.1.3. Timeline of Libya**

To conclude the first half of this chapter, and as a summary, Table 2.1 includes some important events in the history of Libya from 1911 until 2008, while table 2.2 highlights the most important events in Libya's history from 2009 to 2013, the investigated time period in this thesis.



Table 2.1: The timeline of Libya until 2008 (BBC News, 2016; The Guardian, 2011c; Worldatlas, 2014)

Timeline of Libya until 2008	
Year	Event
1911-12	The Italians
1920s	The Libyan rebel, Omar al-Mukhtar, led resistance against the Italian colonization.
1931	Mukhtar's struggle of nearly twenty years came to an end and he was captured and executed.
1951	Libya became independent (ruled by King Idris al-Sanusi)
1969	Qaddafi led a coup against King Idris al-Sanusi and nationalized the oil industry.
1970	The British and the US bases in Libya were closed down.
1977	The country's official name <i>the Libyan Arab Republic</i> was changed by Qaddafi to be the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.
1984	A British policewoman was shot dead outside the Libyan Embassy in London. As a result, the diplomatic relations between Britain and Libya were broken off.
1986	The U.S. bombed some cities in Tripoli and Benghazi, including Qaddafi's house, causing the death of almost 101 people.
1988	Libya was accused of standing behind Lockerbie plane bombing
1992	The UN imposed sanctions on Libya to oblige it to hand over two Libyans who were suspected to be involved in Lockerbie plane bombing.
1999	The UN sanctions on Libya suspended, and the relations with the UK restored after Libya handed over Lockerbie bombing suspects.
2001	A Libyan suspect on the Lockerbie bombing called Abdelbaset al-Megrahi was sentenced to life imprisonment
2002	Some attempts to mend the relations between Libya and the U.S. were made.
Jan-03	Despite the objections of the U.S. and some human rights groups, Libya was elected as the chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission.
Aug-03	Libya paid almost \$2.7bn as a compensation for the families of Lockerbie bombing victims.
May-04	A Palestinian medical intern and five Bulgarian nurses were accused of intentionally infecting 400 of Libyan children with H.I.V. They were sentenced to death before being freed later under a deal with the European Union
2006	The U.S. said that it is planning to restore full diplomatic ties with Libya.
Jan-08	After decades of sanctions, Libya was assigned the one month rotating presidency of the UN Security Council
Aug-08	Italy apologized to Libya for the damage caused during the colonial era and compensated Libya by signing a five billion dollar investment.
Sep-08	A new phase of relations between Libya and the U.S. began after a visit by the US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Table 2.2: The timeline of Libya from 2009 to 2013 (BBC News, 2016; The Guardian, 2011c; Worldatlas, 2014)

Timeline of Libya (2009-2013)	
Year	Event
Feb-09	After a meeting of the African leaders in Ethiopia, Libya was announced as the chair of the African Union. At that time, Qaddafi proposed the United States of Africa.
Jun-09	Qaddafi visited Italy for the first time.
Aug-09	Al-Megrahi, the suspect of the Lockerbie bombing, was freed on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya.
Dec-09	There was a quarrel between Switzerland and Libya as a result of Qaddafi's son, Hannibal, mistreating two domestic Swiss employees.

<b>Jul-10</b>	The British Petroleum (BP) confirmed that it had won a license to work off the Libyan coast.
<b>Oct-10</b>	EU and Libya reached an agreement to control illegal migration.
<b>Dec-10</b>	WikiLeaks published that Qaddafi threatened to cut trade with the UK if Megrahi died in the Scottish jail.
<b>Feb-11</b>	The protests against Qaddafi's regime began in Benghazi, and later spread to other cities. There were some clashes between the pro-Qaddafi forces and the rebels.
<b>Mar-11</b>	The rebels took control of some territories that were later forced back by the pro-Government forces. The rebels also asked the international community to provide them with some arms. The UN Security Council authorized a no-fly zone over Libya.
<b>Jul-11</b>	The Libyan National Transitional Council (NTC) was recognized as a legitimate representative of Libya.
<b>Aug-11</b>	The rebels controlled Qaddafi's fortress compound in Tripoli. Some of Qaddafi's family members including his wife fled to other countries, mainly Algeria.
<b>Oct-11</b>	Qaddafi was captured and killed. The NTC announced its intention to hold elections in 8 months or so.
<b>Nov-11</b>	Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, was captured.
<b>Jan-12</b>	The deputy head of the NTC resigned after the discontent of some former rebels with the speed of the expected change.
<b>Feb-12</b>	Some people were killed in the south east parts of the country as a result of clashes between different groups of rebels.
<b>Mar-12</b>	The NTC officials in oil-rich east, centered in Benghazi, demanded more seats in the national assembly; the thing that caused some clashes with their counterparts in Tripoli.
<b>May-12</b>	A private funeral was held after the death of Abdelbaset Ali al-Megrahi, Lockerbie bomber, in Tripoli.
<b>Jun-12</b>	A case of chaos spread over the country. The government fought against some local militias who took control over Tripoli International Airport.
<b>Aug-12</b>	The NTC had officially handed over power to the General National Conference
<b>Sep-12</b>	Benghazi attack on the US consulate in Benghazi that led to the death of the U.S. Ambassador and three other Americans. As a result, the Ansar al-Sharia and other militants were driven out from Benghazi.
	Abdullah al-Senussi, Libya's former spy chief, was extradited to Tripoli from Mauritania.
<b>May-13</b>	Due to the political uncertainty and some security concerns in Libya, some countries including Britain asked their citizens to leave Libya
<b>Oct-13</b>	The Libyan Prime Minister, Ali Zeidan, was kidnapped briefly by a militia from a hotel in Tripoli; the event raised some security concerns again.
<b>Nov-13</b>	Different clashes between the army and some militias left some people dead.

## 2.2. The Arab Uprisings

The second half of this chapter covers key details about the Arab Spring, its causes, the etymology of the term, and its immediate aftermath. This discussion is intended to provide broader context to the Libyan case, discussed above, and also provide further foundation for the analysis which follows in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

### **2.2.1. Introduction**

As noted in the introduction, the protests in the Arab World are considered to be among the most important events that the world has seen in the last two decades (Cavatorta, 2012; Murphy, 2012). The Arab people took action after decades of submission and disappointment, and rejected the oppressions of their rulers and governments (Ebienfa & Inokoba, 2012). They wanted to change the situation they have been experiencing under the autocratic regimes, where the economic, political and social conditions were difficult and also unstable (Ottaway & Hamzawy, 2011). The terms ‘Arab revolutions’, ‘Arab Spring’, ‘Arab Spring revolutions’, ‘Arab winter’, ‘Arab awakening’ and ‘Arab Uprisings’ refer to related events that are defined as the massive protest movements in 2011 in some Arab countries, mainly, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria (Esomba, 2012). Most of these waves of protests were influenced by the Tunisian revolution that broke out in late December 2010 due to the unstable political and economic situations in the country, which finally toppled the former President Ben Ali. Al-Zidjaly (2011) referred to the series of the uprisings in the Arab countries as a ‘youthquake’ to show how important the role of the young people was in affecting social and political change in society. The widespread use of the Internet in general and social media in particular, aided the victory of this young generation when compared to their earlier cohorts (Howard et al., 2011). They used these means to organize and arrange the demonstrations, their times, places, and even slogans (Aday, Farrell, Lynch, Sides, & Freelon, 2012).

Kalpakian (2013) reported that “the literature sees the Arab Spring as a Liberal, Islamist, anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist, anti-patriarchal, or a Marxist movement often depending on the scholar’s own commitments and attitudes towards the Arab Spring” (p. 4). What distinguishes the Arab uprisings from many other revolutionary movements is the use of the pro-government militias to hold counter-protests or even frighten the peaceful protesters and demonstrators (Musa & Korobko, 2014) obliging them in few incidences to use a similar way, i.e. protesting violently and causing riots. The waves of protests and demonstrations were also distinguished by the emergence of widely spread slogans across the Arab countries, such as ‘the people want to bring down the regime’. The Arab Spring was compared with other revolutions such as the 1989 Revolution, also called Autumn of Nations, which is represented by the swift collapse of the Soviet empire that affected people in Eastern Europe (Springborg, 2011b).

Both revolutions are important and have a great effect on the modern history. However, the outcomes of the Arab uprisings were not as effective as its counterparts (Zantovsky, 2011). This is associated with the difficult economic conditions as well as the hindrance of the residue of the old regimes in the Arab world for the democratization process. Demonstrations and protests usually occurred every day, but the largest and most organized ones occurred on Fridays, the day of rage, after Noon Prayer, i.e. Friday sermon (Mackay, 2011). The techniques and tactics that were used by the protesters are, to some extent, similar and included rallies, marches, demonstrations, and the widespread use of social networking websites including blogs, Facebook, and Twitter (Kassim, 2012). They used these techniques to organize and arrange the times and the places of the protests, and to raise people's awareness regarding the importance of facing the dictators and their regimes (Gul, 2014).

The Arab Spring began in Tunisia when a young vendor called Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire because of his difficult living and economic conditions (Abouzeid, 2011), motivating the Tunisian people to go out in the streets and protest. The protesters' aim of toppling the regime was achieved on January 14<sup>th</sup> when the Tunisian former president Ben Ali left the country by a private plane fleeing to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Only nine days later, the Egyptian revolution broke out on January 25<sup>th</sup> forcing the former president Mubarak to step down from power on February 11<sup>th</sup>. Due to the success of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions in the toppling of two of the long-standing regimes within a short period of time, many peaceful protests were launched all over the Arab world, demanding an end to the corruption and bad living conditions. On February 17<sup>th</sup>, the Libyan revolution broke out, which then turned into an armed revolution. On March 15<sup>th</sup>, a peaceful movement of protests broke out in Syria that deteriorated into an armed rebellion. In 2015, after about 4 years of civil war in Syria, the death toll has risen to nearly 210,000; half of them are civilians though the real number might be much higher (Reuters, 2015). In the late February 2012, the Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Saleh, based on the terms of the Gulf initiative, stepped down from power in a response to the huge numbers of protests that erupted across the country for a year (Aljazeera, 2011d).

These uprisings affected almost all Arab countries, and the movement of protests and demonstrations can be categorized into five main categories as depicted in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Categorizing the Arab countries based on the severity of the protests

Category	Country
The fall of the ruling regime	Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen
Civil War	Syria (on-going), and Libya
Major protests	Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Iraq, Sudan, Algeria, and Oman
Minor protests	Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon
No Protests	Qatar and United Arab Emirates

### 2.2.2. Etymology of the Arab Spring

The use of the word ‘spring’ to describe revolutions is not new or novel (Khoury, 2011 ). For example, it has been used before to describe the European revolutions of 1848 which represents the most widespread political upheaval in the European history, and has been known in many countries as the Spring of Nations and Springtime of the Peoples (Merriman, 1996). Furthermore, the term was used to refer to the movement of liberalization in Czechoslovakia in 1968 during the era of its domination by the Soviet Union, and was known as the Prague Spring (Navrátil, 1998). The Arab Spring as a term was first used in March 2005 by Charles Krauthammer, a syndicated columnist in the Seattle Times in his article “The Arab Spring of 2005” after the U.S. war on Iraq. Krauthammer (2005) foresaw such revolutionary movements and argued that Arabs are not an exception to human tendency to freedom. Lynch (6 January 2011) is the first one to use the term to describe the 2011 revolutionary waves in the Arab world in his Article *Obama’s ‘Arab Spring’* that appeared in the American magazine, FP (*Foreign Policy*) on January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Lynch (2012) emphasised his coinage of the name in his book *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* by saying the “Arab Spring- a term I may have unintentionally coined in a January 6, 2011 article for Foreign Policy” (p. 9), and advised people to avoid using this term, and using the ‘Arab Uprising’ instead.

### 2.2.3. Causes of the Arab Spring

The waves of protests and demonstrations in the Arab world were preceded by decades of oppression and autocracy, and failed economic and political strategies (Murphy, 2012). In this section, I highlight the main reasons that led the Arab people to sweep to the streets and protest to topple some long standing regimes and destabilize others.

### **The direct cause: Bouazizi Self-immolation**

Being tired and hopeless of life, having a deteriorated social status, in addition to the violent and cruel treatment by a policewoman who confiscated his unlicensed vegetable cart and its goods, and insulted him (Abouzeid, 2011), the Tunisian citizen Mohamed El-Bouazizi's self-immolation on December 17<sup>th</sup> 2010 kick-started the uprisings in the Arab World (Ryan, 2011). His action and subsequent death inspired most of the Tunisian people, who showed their solidarity and sympathy with him, to go out into the streets to show their dissatisfaction with the ruling regime. Their solidarity and support manifested in angered protests that ultimately led to the ousting of the former Tunisian president, Ben Ali, from power on January 14, 2011. This impressive success in Tunisia, in less than one month, sparked similar unrest throughout the Arab World in general from the Atlantic to the Gulf, and more notably in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria (El-Khawas, 2012).

### **Political causes**

Political disaffection is another cause of the uprisings. As noted by Zartman (2015), the generality of the Arab citizens, except those who occupy positions of leadership, are rarely made to be involved in the process of decision making or the process of governance. Another political cause is related to the fact that the Arab nations are classified as either monarchies or republics. However, the general practice among almost all Arab presidents is that they tend to perpetuate themselves in office until they die (Owen, 2014). Research has shown that all of the Arab presidents except Bashar Al-Assad were in their late sixties or older by the end of 2010 (Owen, 2014).

### **Economic causes**

The economic aspect played a critical role in the outbreak of the social and political upheavals, where the quasi-absence of independent economy in most Arab countries left a lot of people unemployed and led to the existence of inflexible job markets (Chaaban, 2010). Furthermore, the uneven distribution of wealth and financial impropriety among

Arab leaders ignited the revolutions (Dodge, 2012). In this case, billions of dollars of frozen assets were compiled by the dictators over the few past decades preventing their people to share the countries' wealth (Aissa, 2012). For example, the wealth of Qaddafi as estimated by experts exceeded \$200 billion (Lubin, 2011) while most of the Libyan people were living in poverty.

### **Demographic causes**

The demographic dimension of the uprising is of great importance where the Arab governments failed to provide people, in general, and the young in particular, with satisfactory level of health, education, nutrition and social security (Mirkin, 2013). In addition to this, unemployment rate is high in the Arab world in general and among youth in particular (Acheboune & Driouchi, 2014).

### **The effective role of media**

Mass media appear among the significant factors that encouraged most Arab people to go out to streets and protest. National and international media have played an invaluable role in reaching out to the Arab public and delivering the information to them. Lynch (2013) highlights the vital role that media played in the 2011 uprisings in the Arab world pointing out that the protests were driven by the different forms of media. In the same vein, it appears that the different types of media "brought critical news and opinions to a broad public, gave voice to the voiceless, built ties between activists and ordinary citizens, and linked local protests into a powerful master narrative of regional uprising" (Lynch, 2015, p. 90). Also, social media in addition to its role in organizing the protests and delivering news for people across the country (Khondker, 2011) motivated the international media to be on the ground to report the events (Adelaja, 2013) by showing the continuous conflict between the protesters and the ruling regimes.

### **The hereditary republics and absolute monarchies**

Hereditary monarchies can be regarded as system of rule where political leadership is passed through inheritance within a family group. Conversely, it has been a long time

practice in the Arab world to have the self-contradictory concept of the hereditary republic because most of the presidents in the Arab countries have a strong tenacity to stay in power for decades (Kafaji, 2011). Muammar Qaddafi, as noted above, came to rule after a military coup in 1969 and is considered to be one of the longest serving presidents worldwide, staying in office for 42 years (MacFarquhar, 2011). In Syria, Bashar al-Assad, in a precedent in the republican government system, succeeded his father, Hafez Assad, in 2000. In Egypt and Yemen, it was reported that there was a clear intention by Mubarak and Saleh to pass power to their sons Gamal and Ahmed, respectively (Sadiki, 2009). However, the uprisings erupted in both countries and toppled the two presidents and damaged their plans. Protests and demonstrations also affected some monarchies such as Bahrain, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Oman as there were demands for constitutional monarchy and greater freedom rather than the existing absolute monarchies (Levins, 2012).

Accordingly, the causes of the Arab Spring were many, and included political, economic, and demographic aspects, in addition to the effective role that media played in motivating the Arab people to go out to streets and protest.

#### 2.2.4. Summary of the Arab Spring in the five main involved countries

Table 2.4 summarises the key information about the protests in the five Arab countries that witnessed major protests. For more information about the other involved Arab countries in the uprisings, see Appendix (i).

Table 2.4: Summary of the Arab Awakening in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Yemen (AlJazeera, 2013; Smith, 2016)

Country	Start/End Date	Outcomes (till the end of 2013)	Level
<b>Tunisia</b>	From December 18 <sup>th</sup> , 2010 To January 14, 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✚ Ben Ali, the former Tunisian president, fled to Saudi Arabia</li> <li>✚ Prime Minister Ghannouchi resigned along with his cabinet.</li> <li>✚ The political police has been dissolved</li> <li>✚ The political prisoners have been released</li> <li>✚ Tunisian people elected a Constituent Assembly.</li> <li>✚ People elected an Islamist-led government</li> </ul>	<b>Regime Overthrown</b>
<b>Egypt</b>	From January 25 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✚ Mubarak sacked the prime Minister.</li> <li>✚ Mubarak stepped down.</li> <li>✚ The armed forces ruled the country.</li> <li>✚ The parliament was dissolved.</li> <li>✚ The constitution was suspended.</li> </ul>	



	<p><u>To</u></p> <p>February 11, 2011</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The State Security Investigations Service was dispended.</li> <li>Mubarak, his family and some of his former Ministers were prosecuted.</li> <li>The state of emergency which lasted 31 years was lifted</li> <li>(Democratic) election was held to choose a new president.</li> <li>The Muslim Brotherhood candidate, Mohamed Morsi, was elected to be the first president after the revolution.</li> <li>People kept protesting and demonstrating.</li> <li>Morsi was then removed by a military coup.</li> <li>Senior Islamist figures especially from the Muslim Brotherhood have been arrested.</li> <li>People went out to the streets in response to the military coup.</li> <li>The Islamist government was ousted and replaced by the military.</li> <li>A new third constitution within a year has been created</li> <li>Violence and attacks have been increased</li> </ul>	<p><b>Regime Overthrown</b></p> <p><b>Replacement Government Overthrown</b></p>
<b>Libya</b>	<p><u>From</u></p> <p>February 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011</p> <p><u>To</u></p> <p>October 23 ,2011</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The protests began in Benghazi, and were quashed by security forces that killed dozens of protesters</li> <li>Protests continued to escalate and Qaddafi hired mercenaries to suppress the protesters</li> <li>The rebels seized control of some Libyan cities (especially the oil-rich ones)</li> <li>Qaddafi delivered several speeches and blamed the rebels on foreign interventions, and promised to fight them until the last moment of his life</li> <li>After a debate, the UN imposed a no-fly zone over Libya, and mandated military intervention</li> <li>Some Arab countries like Qatar and the UAE provided logistical support in the intervention.</li> <li>The rebels entered the capital city, Tripoli, and attacked the Qaddafi's compound there</li> <li>Qaddafi urged his loyalists to fight on</li> <li>A meeting of the interim rulers of Libya with the world leaders was held in Paris to discuss reshaping Libya</li> <li>Qaddafi was captured and killed and buried in a secret location</li> <li>After 8 months of the uprisings, the National Transitional Council took control of Libya and declared its liberation</li> <li>Saif-Islam and Qaddafi's intelligence chief, Senussi, were arrested</li> <li>First elections in the country in about 4 decades were held</li> <li>A case of chaos spread over the country with sporadic low-level fighting and clashes</li> <li>The US consulate in Benghazi was attacked, and some countries like the UK announced withdrawing some diplomatic staff from Libya</li> </ul>	<p><b>Regime Overthrown</b></p> <p><b>Civil War</b></p>
<b>Yemen</b>	<p><u>From</u></p> <p>January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2011</p> <p><u>To</u></p> <p>February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2012</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ali Abdullah Saleh stepped down and was granted immunity from prosecution</li> <li>The Prime Minister has resigned from his position</li> <li>The military forces have been restructured and several leaders were sacked.</li> <li>Presidential election was held.</li> <li>Abd Rabbuh Mansur was elected as the first president after the revolution.</li> <li>Some areas of Yemen were occupied by the Shi'ite Houthi group.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Regime Overthrown</b></p>

<b>Syria</b>	<u>From</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Syrian authorities arrested a lot of people.</li> <li>Bashar Al-Assad dismissed some Provincial Governors.</li> <li>The government resigned</li> <li>Emergency Law was ended</li> <li>A lot of Syrian soldiers were defected from the government's army.</li> </ul>	<b>Civil War</b>  Ongoing clashes between the Syrian government's army and militant groups
	March 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2011  <u>To</u>  <b>Ongoing</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Free Syrian Army was formed</li> <li>The Free Syrian Army took control of some territories across Syria.</li> <li>The Syrian National Council was formed</li> <li>A few countries both Arabic and international recognized the National Council as the representative of the Syrians</li> <li>Syria was suspended from the Arab League</li> <li>Many Arab and Muslim fighters moved to Syria to fight against the Syrian government army.</li> <li>A massive number of Syrian people immigrated to the neighbouring countries such as Turkey and Jordan.</li> <li>Hundreds of thousands people are being killed in Syria.</li> </ul>	

### 2.3. A concluding statement

The Arab Springs began in late 2010 and caused some changes that have affected the whole world, in general, and the Arab regions, in particular (Cavatorta, 2012). This era of protests has left controversial and complicated outcomes and issues, gains and losses, not only on the political level, but also the economic, social, intellectual, ideological, and military ones. Although the final outcomes of the uprisings have not completely appeared yet, the Arab Spring succeeded in removing four perceived unshakable dictators. The post-uprisings period in the mainly affected countries has been described as an era of street dictatorship where people tended to protest and make various strikes, sometimes violently, against most of the decisions of the new regimes. These countries are still struggling to restore stability and establish a democratic system based on political pluralism and devolution of power (Panara & Wilson, 2013). It also seems that this era of the protests left the other Arab countries between the devil and the deep blue sea, i.e. having some kind of relative stability under the rule of their autocratic regimes, or sacrificing themselves in an endless civil war and at the mercy of extremist groups and at the end have nothing but a miserable situation that might even be worse than before.

Before looking more closely at how the era of the Arab Spring in general, and Qaddafi and Libya in particular were represented in four Arabic and English newspapers, this chapter explored different related social, political, and historical aspects that will be useful when

understanding why a given issue or entity was represented positively in a particular period of time, and negatively in another. Moreover, relating the findings of the analysis in chapters five, six, and eight to a number of contexts in the Arab region will be fruitful when interpreting and explaining the findings.

The next chapter explores the relevant theoretical and methodological literature, and defines the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis.

### **3. CHAPTER THREE**

#### **Literature Review**

As mentioned in chapter 1, this study combines approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the analytical framework of Corpus Linguistics (CL) to study the representation of Qaddafi and the 2011 Libyan civil war in four English and Arabic newspapers. This chapter explores CDA and CL, and describes the combination of the two. It also builds the framework for the current study, and situates it within the body of the relevant literature.

#### **3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis**

##### **3.1.1. Introduction (definition and aims)**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has grown rapidly over the last decade of the 20th century as a continuation of critical linguistics that appeared in the 1970s (Barletta Manjarrés, 2007). Therefore, it is a relatively new area developed in language study in which discourse is treated as “a form of social practice” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258). CDA investigates the relationship between language, power, and society, and pays much attention to the crucial role that context plays in discourse (Wodak, 2001). Van Dijk (1998) conceptualises CDA as a field that analyses texts to expose the discursive sources of dominance, bias and inequality, and how these sources are produced, maintained, and changed within specific political, social, cultural, and historical contexts. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) state that discourse analysis is socially constitutive and is constituted by society, and attempts to make the opaque power relations clearer and more transparent or visible. CDA is a way to draw people’s attention towards the forms of inequalities, domination, and non-democratic practices in society, and encourages them to be aware of such forms and not to be manipulated by the ways specific issues and ideologies are represented.

CDA, according to Huckin (1995, p. 95), is “a highly context-sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society”. Since the success of CDA is measured by its effective contribution to change, Van Dijk (1993b) criticizes the scholars who support and take the side of power’s elites all the time, and points out that CDA “should not worry about the interests or perspectives of those in

power, who are best placed to take care of their own interests anyway” (p. 253). According to Breeze (2011), CDA is considered to be a promising paradigm that contributes to understanding the way ideology functions through language or discourse by providing explanations and interpretation to the relationship between language and the workings of power in society. CDA also investigates the various ways in which texts (written/spoken) are produced, and received or comprehended, and considers not only what’s included in the text, but also what’s omitted. Van Dijk (2009) refers to CDA as Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), and justified his preference to this designation by saying that the latter is more general, and suggests a more critical approach by involving not only critical analysis, but also critical theory, and critical applications. Furthermore, CDS is a way to show that the critical approach is not only a *method* of discourse analysis, limited to the analysis of texts and talks, but rather “a critical perspective, position or attitude within the discipline of multidisciplinary Discourse Studies” (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 62). The two appellations of CDA and CDS are currently used in the field; however in this thesis, I use the traditional designation of the field (CDA) as more than 95% of the studies cited in this thesis used it.

What distinguishes CDA from other discourse analysis fields is its ability not only to interpret and describe discourse in context, but it also explains how and why discourses work in particular ways. This informs why CDA analysts pay much attention to the historical, social, political, cultural contexts where texts of power emerge. Luke (2002) argues that CDA combines both the linguistic as well as the social and cultural analyses of texts. Luke (2002) further points out that a linguistic analysis of the texts, no matter how comprehensive, is not enough to do CDA, and it “requires the overlay of a social theoretic discourse for explaining and explicating the social; contexts, concomitants, contingencies and consequences of any given text or discourse” (p. 101). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse cannot be understood without considering the context, and that the text cannot be completely understood without taking into consideration its use in a particular situation and relations with other discourses.

In this thesis, CDA is viewed as a way of examining the relationship between the language of four newspapers, the governments of the countries where they are located and mainly published, and the Libyan regime of Qaddafi. It is a way to reveal how Qaddafi and some regimes are represented in a time span of 5 years, why they were represented in that way,

and whether the newspapers were biased in their representation or not. CDA in this thesis is a way not only to describe what the newspapers said, but it also explain how the discourses they employ work based on the power relations in the societies of where they operate. CDA in this thesis is a way to examine how language can be taken as a means of addressing social change motivating people to act in a particular way at a particular time, and in another way at different periods of time. In this thesis, CDA is a way of investigating the problem, represented by the Arab Spring and the Libyan civil war, and trying to analyse it through examining the accompanying social and political actions, highlighting the role that language (discourse) plays in constructing such actions.

### **3.1.2. Multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach**

CDA was derived from Text Linguistics, Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Classical Rhetoric, and Applied Linguistics (McKay, 2009). CDA is noted for having different frameworks that share similar aims of uncovering the relationship between language, power, ideology, and culture (Pasha, 2011). These aspects make CDA proponents emphasize that any criticisms for CDA should be addressed to specific research or researchers not to the approach itself (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) and that it should not be treated as a holistic or closed paradigm. Wodak (2002) argues that CDA is an interdisciplinary approach because of the complexity of the majority of problems in our societies. CDA provides not only a description of the communicative event, but also an interpretation and explanation of how and why it happens, and this is why it needs to be viewed as both a theory and a method (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest using other terms like a school or a programme to describe CDA.

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies both the linguistic features, i.e. the micro levels, and the social, cultural, and political contexts, i.e. the macro level (Van Dijk, 1993b). Chilton and Schäffner (2002) view discourse as a communicative event that includes particular ideologies, politics, and beliefs. This idea of multidisciplinary and diversity in CDA (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Van Dijk, 2001b) can be observed through the diversity of the topics that CDA analysts have so far explored; for example, political discourse (Chilton, Il'inskiĭ, & Mey, 1998; Fairclough, 2001); ideology (Van Dijk, 1995b, 2000); racism (Van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak & Reisigl, 1999); economic discourse (Fairclough, 1995a); and advertisement and promotional culture (Fairclough, 1995a; Thornborrow,

1998). Other areas include media language (Fairclough, 1995b; Kress, 1994; Van Dijk, 1991); institutional discourse such as doctor-patient communication (Wodak, 1997); and education (Chouliaraki, 1998; Kress, 1997). Van Dijk (1998) points out that CDA is not meant to be a separate paradigm, individual schools, or a specific direction of research that has a single theoretical framework, “yet, given the common perspective and the general aims of CDA, we may also find overall conceptual and theoretical frameworks that are closely related” (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 353).

### **3.1.3. Critical Discourse**

#### **3.1.3.1. Critical**

Using the term *critical* in CDA is a way to show hidden power relations such as inequality and racism and what causes them (Van Dijk, 1995a). CDA is critical as Wodak (1997) argues because it investigates and clarifies the relationship between language and society. It is critical in the sense that it addresses social, cultural, and political problems (Pasha, 2011). CDA is critical because it is practical and brings interpretations and explanations for those who would like to resist or at least understand the forms of power (Fairclough, 2001). CDA is critical because it is “discourse analysis with an attitude” (Van Dijk, 2001a, p. 96). CDA is critical because it analyzes social wrongs such as unequal access to power and prejudice (Fairclough, 2009). CDA is critical because it examines the dominant groups in a specific society, investigates the mechanisms that have made these groups dominant and then criticizes their behaviours and unravels their agenda that are implicit in the communicative situations (Riasati & Rahimi, 2011).

However, Martin (2004) sees the critical aspect of CDA from a different perspective, and argues that CDA concentrates on the negative aspects in the texts, and recommends that CDA analysts should look at the positive or potentially transformative uses of discourse. Kendall (2007, p. 3) clarified this point by pointing out that critical means “not taking things for granted... does not imply the common sense meaning of being negative rather sceptical” (Kendall, 2007, p. 3).

In this thesis, critical is a way to draw people’s attention towards the forms of inequalities, domination, and non-democratic practices in the society, encouraging them to be aware of

such forms and not to be manipulated by the ways specific issues and ideologies are represented in media, and motivating them to change and improve the society where they live. Critical in this study is a way to show how some particular events are represented and legitimized based on the interests of the group that dominates the situation. In this thesis, critical is a way to interpret and explain the way that ideology functions through language. It is a way to understand the relationship between language and the workings of power in society. In this thesis, critical means selecting the perspective of those who suffer (normal people rather than the regimes or governments), and critically analyse the language use of people in power, simply because they are the ones who have control over resources in the society being responsible for the existence of inequalities, and having the power to improve conditions and even change them.

### **3.1.3.2. Discourse**

Widdowson (1995a) notes that defining the concept of discourse is not simple, and conceptualizes discourse as “extremely fashionable and at the same time extremely uncertain: widespread but spread very thin” (p. 159). Van Dijk (2009) also argues that it is hard to define fundamental notions such as *discourse* since it is a multidimensional social phenomenon. Fairclough (1992) also argues that discourse is a difficult concept to define, and divides it into two types, namely: critical and non-critical. The former approach differs from the latter in its tendency to interpret and explain events rather than describing them. Maingueneau (2006) distinguishes between two types of discourse analysis, contending that the first simply describes the structures of texts and talk while the other, which is stronger than the first, involves connecting discourse and social structures. Therefore, the first type represents the traditional structural linguistics, whilst the second forms a movement toward critical linguistics.

Harris (1952) uses the term *discourse analysis* to describe language beyond the sentence level, and discourse, according to him, is viewed as formal regularities across sentences in combination. Although discourse is defined as language in use, Harris (1952) was only interested in the first part of the definition, i.e. language and only language, ignoring the other part, which is related to the context. Stubbs (1983) adopts the same idea of Harris and defined discourse as “.... attempts to study the organization of language above the sentence,



or above the clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts” (p. 2).

In this thesis, I adopt Blommaert’s definition of discourse as “language in action” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2) because it forms objects, and produces a particular version of events. Discourse is effective and influential in the society since it sometimes causes changes and constructs events and behaviours. Discourse is also a way of interpreting the world, giving it a meaning, and allowing some events rather than others to take place. Burr (1995, p. 48) supports this idea by mentioning the example of foxhunting discourse. Foxhunting, according to Burr, might be represented in two different discourses, namely, “foxhunting as pests’ control discourse” that can be interpreted as a way of keeping a manageable number of fox population, otherwise they will run out of control, and attack on the farmers’ livestock causing the ‘poor’ farmers to lose thousands of pounds each year through foxes’ attacks on their livestock. The other discourse can be represented as “foxhunting as the contravention of basic morality” which indicates that animals are just like humans, and have basic rights of life, and hunting them is an uncivilized act. Language is not discourse in itself, but a way that influences people to act in a particular way, so it can be seen as traces of a particular discourse.

### **3.1.3.3. Discourse Analysis and CDA**

Fitch (2005) argues that discourse analysis in its early stages concentrated on the internal structure of the texts, sometimes using Halliday’s Systemic-Functional Linguistics (1978). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) view discourse as a social practice, and highlight the dialectical relationship between language and society, and so discourse is seen as “socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned” (p. 258). Drawing a line between Discourse Analysis (DA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is not easy since DA describes discourse practices (Fairclough, 1992), while CDA shows how these practices hide power or how they can help produce, maintain, and change the relations of inequalities; for example between women and men, and the poor and the rich . Maingueneau (2006, p. 229) highlights three levels that can be referred to in order to differentiate the critical orientation of discourse analysis from the other non-critical aspects. First, the critical aspect can result from selecting some particular topics for investigation, such as social inequality, power

relations, social classes, and many others. Second, the critical aspect might be involved by adopting the claim that social sciences must contribute to the process of transforming societies. Third, even if the aim of transforming society was not intended by the discourse analysts, the critical orientation can be achieved if the analysts moved from the simple description of structures of the texts and talk to connecting these structures with social practices and places.

### 3.1.4. Main directions (approaches) in CDA

This section covers three main approaches to analysing communicative events within the framework of CDA, namely, Van Dijk's cognitive-discourse approach (1997), Wodak's discourse historical approach (2001), and Fairclough's social discourse approach (1995b).

#### 3.1.4.1. Van Dijk's Approach

Van Dijk, Neff-van Aertselaer, and Putz (2004) argue that ideologies can be manifested in different social practices, and discourse is considered to be one of these practices. Van Dijk (1995b, p. 17) argues that "discourse analysis is ideology analysis", and that ideologies can be produced, maintained, and changed in discourse and communication. An important notion in Van Dijk's work is related to 'Us versus Them dimension' which is people's tendency to present themselves as having positive attitudes while concentrating on the other group negative attributes (Van Dijk, 1991, 1996). Van Dijk (2006b) refers to this overall strategy as the ideological square, as table 3.1 shows.

Table 3.1: Van Dijk's ideological square

Van Dijk's ideological square	
Emphasize <b>Our</b> good things	Emphasize <b>Their</b> bad things
De-emphasize <b>Our</b> bad things	De-emphasize <b>Their</b> good things

In order to investigate this ideological dichotomy, Van Dijk (1998, pp. 61- 63) draws a specific path that the analysts may follow while analysing a communicative event, and this includes examining the historical, political, and social contexts of the communicative event, analyzing the power relations of the main participants in the conflict, examining the incidents of polarisation 'Us versus Them', and studying the structure of the communicative event (lexical choice, syntax...) in a way that shows the self/other representation.

In this thesis, I investigated the context of the Arab Spring in general and the 2011 Libyan civil war in particular, and analyzed the power relations of the main participants in the conflict; mainly the ruling regime of Qaddafi, the Libyan people, and other participating parties represented by some Western countries with more focus on Britain and the US where the two English newspapers are located and mainly published, and some Arab countries, mainly Saudi Arabia and the UAE where the two Arabic newspapers are mainly published. Using corpus techniques and newspaper texts, I will examine how the notion of polarisation (ideological square) is applied across the three investigated time periods; before, during, and after the Libyan uprisings.

#### **3.1.4.2. Wodak's Discourse Sociolinguistics/Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)**

Wodak's *Discourse Sociolinguistics* is mainly based on the ideas of Frankfurt School (Kendall, 2007). Wodak (1996) points out that *Discourse Sociolinguistics* not only aims to study texts in their contexts, but also tries to analyze "the opaque structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control" (p. 204). Wodak's studies of sexism and racism in different settings such as hospitals, schools, and courts formed the beginning of her discourse historical approach (DHA) which focuses on the historical context to explain and interpret the texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The choice of the term *historical* is critical since it is used, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), to "integrate systematically all available background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text" (p. 266).

Wodak (2009) emphasizes the idea of considering **wider contexts** of discourse, and this includes the actual use of language (text), the relationship between texts, genres, and discourses, the institutional context of discourse, and the social, political, and historical contexts. It is then the role of the researcher to recognize the operation of power across these levels. DHA does not only concentrate on the immediate context of the communicative event within its present state of occurrence, but also takes into account its historical continuum and development. Wodak (2002) points out that examining the historical context contributes to understanding, interpreting, and explaining discourses and texts.

In this study, I gathered some information about the social, political, and historical contexts of the investigated texts as shown in chapters one and two. In chapter five, I will, as

recommended by Wodak (1995), integrate such background information in the analysis, interpretation, and explanation of the investigated Arabic and English newspaper texts.

### 3.1.4.3. Fairclough: Social Discourse Approach

What differentiates Fairclough's approach from the previous two, discussed above, lies in its emphasis on the social aspect (Fairclough, 2003) examining the dialectical relation between language and society where language partly constitutes social practices and is constituted by social practices as well. According to Fairclough (1995b), texts/discourses are both socially constitutive and socially shaped, and so the relationship between language and society is dialectical. As noted by (Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999); Fairclough (1995b)), in order to analyse any discursive event, CDA practitioners should not only analyse texts or examine the processes of production and consumption alone, but rather combine the following three aspects together as table 3.2 shows.

Table 3.2: Fairclough's social approach

<b>Fairclough's CDA Social Cultural Approach (1999)</b>	
<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>The text</b>	Both spoken and written, such as a book or a column in a newspaper
<b>Discourse practice</b>	The processes of the production and interpretation/reception of texts
<b>Sociocultural practice</b>	The social and cultural structures that lead to the interaction

As table 3.2 shows, discourse exists on three levels, and the analysts, as recommended by Fairclough, should describe and explain the relationship between these three levels. This happens by analyzing the text (linguistic properties of the text), discourse practices (processes of text production and reception), and soci-cultural practices that are related to the outside influences and powers that affect the construction and production of the text such as the politics of media, economics of media, etc.

In this study, using different corpus techniques, I will analyze the lexical choices of the newspapers in their coverage of news about Libya and Qaddafi. Regarding text production, I will show what events are selected to be densely reported in a particular newspaper, and why these events rather than others were densely covered bearing in mind that Qaddafi, the main investigated person in this study, and based on the contextual investigation was

involved in many events before the uprisings. Accordingly, I will examine if the focus of the four newspapers is similar or different and why? Regarding the third level (socio-cultural practice), I included information about the politics and economy of media in the Arab and Western world in chapter one, and this will help me explain my findings.

Accordingly, in this study, I aim to use the different notions and approaches of CDA. Unlike the main approach in the field that has been developed by Baker et al. (2008), and was inspired by the Discourse Historical Approach, the approach followed in this thesis is inspired by the three big schools of CDA (Van Dijk's, Wodak's, and Fairclough's). It considers the context of the discourse as proposed by Wodak and Fairclough, and makes use of the notion of ideological square as proposed by van Dijk.

### **3.1.5. Critiques of CDA**

CDA has been a target for criticism and the focus of a heated debate (see Billig, 2002; Breeze, 2011; Schegloff, 1997; Stubbs, 1997; Widdowson, 1995a, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2004). Widdowson, in a series of articles, criticizes the CDA framework claiming that CDA is not an analysis but a mere interpretation, and CDA analysts depend mainly on their beliefs rather than on theories (Widdowson, 1995a). The objectivity of the analysts is also in question, being ideologically biased and analyzing the texts based on their political and ideological stance. The analysts choose the texts that suit their preconceived theories and confirm their beliefs having a "ready-made interpretations which, in effect, serve as a kind of pretextual priming, designed to dispose us to read this text in a particular way" (Widdowson, 2004, p. 142). CDA analyzes texts away from their contexts, or at least, pay a little attention to it, and tend to avoid explaining why some particular details rather than others are contextually significant (Widdowson, 2000, 2004).

Widdowson (1995a, 1996, 1998) also questions the notion of representativeness saying that CDA depends on fragments rather than full texts, and 'cherry-pick' examples that suit its analysts' assumptions. Widdowson himself has been criticized by other scholars; for example, Weber (2002) argues that Widdowson is still criticizing 'critical linguistics' work that appeared in late 1980s, ignoring that CDA through its publications in different disciplines has been moving on with some changes from its old version of critical linguistics. Schegloff (1997) criticizes CDA for being interpretive and subjective in its

analysis, in addition to being driven by prior theorizing, and so finding out what's already known. In common with Widdowson (1995a, 1995b, 1996), Stubbs (1997) claims that the textual interpretations of most critical discourse practitioners are politically rather than linguistically motivated or oriented. Stubbs (1997) also accuses CDA practitioners of perfectly finding what political position they are going to find in addition to being impressionistic, depending on small excerpts that were previously obtained unsystematically. Stubbs (1997, p. 7) notes that "there is very little discussion of whether it is adequate to restrict analysis to short fragments of data, how data should be sampled, and whether the sample is representative", and recommends analyzing long texts rather than fragments.

To summarize the points discussed above, it appears that the criticism against CDA is mainly related to the researchers' bias; they are accused of being ideologically biased analyzing the texts based on their political and ideological stance. The notion of representativeness is also in question; CDA is accused of depending on fragments rather than full texts. Third, CDA analysts are accused of depending on small excerpts that were obtained unsystematically. Baker (2006) mentions some advantages of undertaking corpus linguistic discourse analysis, and these points may contribute to reducing the criticism addressed against CDA. First, it reduces researcher bias; when looking at dozen of texts rather than just one or two selected texts, the overall patterns and trends are more likely to show, and this reduces the opportunity for the conscious or unconscious manipulations of the analyzed texts. Second, the incremental effect of discourse, where using some words repetitively in particular occasions and in associations with other words can be seen as a way of creating a particular discourse for that word. Using a corpus allows researchers to see patterns of words and discourses that spread throughout the language. Baker gives an example about the construction of people in wheel chairs as in the sentence "despite being confined to a wheelchair for the last 10 years, John is the most successful engineer in our company". It can be argued, following Baker, that despite this sentence appearing to construct disabled people in a positive way, the use of the phrase 'confirmed to a wheelchair', and the use of the coordinator 'despite' promote the reader to infer that the disables are not expected to be successful. Baker carried out a collocation analysis in a general corpus and found that *wheelchair* co-occurs with 'despite' and 'confined', and concluded that the analysis of the sentence about John is not an isolated case, and that it belongs to a discourse which negatively constructs people in wheelchairs. Third, a corpus-

based approach to discourse analysis makes it easier to identify counter-examples, and compare text over different time periods, and so offering insights into resistant and changing discourses. The use of a particular linguistic feature in an individual text might lead the analyst in a particular direction. However, this direction might not be confirmed in a corpus of texts. Fourth, triangulation, which refers to using multiple methods while analysing a communicative event.

### **3.1.6. CDA and this study**

This study is carried out on media texts that are produced in a period of conflicts in which the power formula changed not only in the countries that were mainly affected by the protests and whose regimes were toppled, but also in most other countries in the regions whose governments were obliged to change their former allies in most cases. CDA fits this study because I am mainly interested in investigating the relationship between language and power, and showing that language, power, ideology and society are intertwined. During the periods of conflicts, most people are exposed to vast amount of information via different means, not least the media, and so might have a difficulty in judging whether the information they receive is right or not bearing in mind that meanings are multidimensional and slippery rather than monolithic. Therefore, CDA is important for this thesis because it contributes to partly uncovering the hidden meanings and ideological loads of discourses because it takes into account the different strategies that the text producers may follow to deliver their message based on the overall context of the event. In this thesis, I will show how the linguistic selections of newspapers can provide a particular ideology that might be hidden to readers. For example, *Qaddafi* can be referred to as the Libyan leader, Libyan president, and Libyan colonel; however, what description newspapers select is important. Using corpus linguistic techniques, I will investigate which of these descriptions are used, and whether the newspapers will refer to him with some other (negative) descriptions such as the *Libyan dictator* or *the Libyan tyrant*.

Based on the different CDA approaches especially Wodak's and Fairclough's, I made a detailed contextual analysis of the Arab Spring and the Libyan civil war, and studied some different aspects related to texts production such as the investigated newspapers' background and socio-political stance since understanding such factors will help me have critical thinking rather than a limited-sighted, and closed-minded mentality. In chapter 2, I

investigated the historical, social, religious, and political contexts of the Arab Spring countries in general and *Libya* in particular. I examined the timeline of Libya's history with some focus on the last 5 years (2009-2013), and included information about the former Libyan president Muammar *Qaddafi* and his family members. Since the results of corpus analysis are expected to be descriptive in nature in most cases, studying the political, social, cultural, and religious background of the investigated phenomenon can play a significant role in interpreting and explaining these findings. Moreover, understanding the contextual aspects of the aftermath of the Arab Spring is required to explain any change observed in the newspapers' style in covering some events related to this era. I also included some details about the era of the Arab Spring, the etymology of the phrase, the countries mainly affected by the era, its causes and consequences, and the role of young people and media in affecting the event. Understanding the nature of relations between Libya and the four countries where the investigated newspapers are mainly published, namely Saudi Arabia, the UAE, the U.S, and Britain contributes to having a better understanding to the idea that communicative events are not ideologically neutral, but are full of ideologically motivated materials.

This study aims to examine Van Dijk's notion of ideological square of positive self and negative others. It investigates whether the investigated newspapers have used different strategies that highlight this notion of group polarisation by representing the countries where they are located and mainly published positively, and 'others' negatively. I will examine whether the English and Arabic newspapers will construct identities based on the ideological square of "us" vs. "them" when reporting some events in the Libyan context. It is expected that the construction of *Self*-group and *Other*-group identity be more frequent in the English newspapers perhaps to justify the British and US reactions on different events related to Libya and Qaddafi. Since neither of the investigated Arabic newspapers is Libyan, the ideological square may not be as clear as their English counterparts; however, it might be clearer in *Asharq Al-Awsat* than *Al-Khaleej* being a pan-Arab newspaper and focussing on the issues that the Arab countries in general are involved in. This will enable me to examine whether the four newspapers are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working, and whether they will tend to legitimise some policies and points of view and delegitimize others and what motivates them to do so.



## **3.2. Corpus Linguistics**

### **3.2.1. Introduction**

Language can be studied from two main different perspectives (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998). First, studying its structure, including the structural units and phrases and how the small units are used and combined to form larger ones. Second, investigating how language users produce it in “actual settings in natural ways” (Biber et al., 1998, p. 1). Corpus linguistics is often included under the umbrella of the second use. Hunston (2002) defined ‘corpus’ based on both its form and its purpose as “a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study” (p. 2). Corpus linguistics is “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 1). This method has become popular since the advent of personal computers in the 1990s. Therefore, it is often described as being a relatively new approach that investigates language in use with the aid of computers. Compared with the eras of the 60s and 70s, researchers nowadays have access to large and different types of corpora, along with the presence of a set of tools and software which assist them to analyse their data quickly and relatively easily. However, the availability of some advanced corpus linguistic tools does not mean that the corpus data interprets itself without humans’ interaction. Ball (1994) argues that the manual and automated methods for text analysis are strongly connected, and that text processing tools can enhance, but not replace, the process of human analysis.

Corpus linguistics has largely been accepted as an important way of analysing language in different fields such as lexicography (Hanks, 2012), syntax (Roland, Dick, & Elman, 2007), cognitive linguistics (Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2007), and applied linguistics (Hunston, 2002). In Arabic, the number of studies on CL is small when compared to the proportion of the studies held on English texts. These studies tackled different issues which include: Arabic corpus linguistics in general (Ditters, 1990); the absence of Arabic corpus linguistics (Mansour, 2013); designing and building Arabic corpora (AbdelRaouf, Higgins, Pridmore, & Khalil, 2010; Al-Sulaiti & Atwell, 2006; Alansary, Nagi, & Adly, 2007; Alrabiah, Al-Salman, & Atwell, 2013); building/improving syntactic, morphological, and semantic stemmers for Arabic (Dukes, Atwell, & Habash, 2013; Dukes & Habash, 2010; Khoja,

2001); Arabic grammar (Esseesy, 2010); morphology (Habash, Roth, Rambow, Eskander, & Tomeh, 2013); lexicography (Sawalha & Atwell, 2011), and pedagogy (Abuhakema, Faraj, Feldman, & Fitzpatrick, 2008; Alfaifi & Atwell, 2013a; Alfaifi & Atwell, 2013b). In addition, different studies were done on the Arabic corpus of Quran (Dukes, Atwell, & Sharaf, 2010; Sharaf & Atwell, 2012).

McEnery and Wilson (2001) summarize the most important advantages of using corpora. First, sampling and quantification as corpus data are not random, but systematically collected and sampled, and so the outcomes derived from them can be generalized. Second, ease of access where researchers may not need to build a new corpus from scratch since many corpora are available freely or at low-price cost. Third, most corpora are enriched with both linguistic and extra linguistic features by annotation, and finally corpora are a collection of naturalistic data, and provide researchers with examples of language from everyday life being the product of real social contexts.

### **3.2.2. A Methodology or Theory of language? Corpus-driven Vs. Corpus-based approaches**

#### **3.2.2.1. A Methodology or Theory?**

Some argue that corpus linguistics goes beyond its methodological role (Halliday, 1993; Tognini-Bonelli, 2000, 2001). Halliday (1993) states that corpus linguistics combines data gathering and theorising in a way that may change the way how people understand language, stressing out that “data gathering and theorizing are no longer separate activities” (p. 24). Tognini-Bonelli (2001) argues that corpus linguistics has become an independent discipline and it goes well beyond its methodological role. Tognini-Bonelli (2000) perceives corpus linguistics as “a new research enterprise and a new philosophical approach to the subject, to put it in Leech’s words a new way of thinking about language” (p. 205). Those who consider corpus linguistics as a theory argue that analysing corpus data may reveal new facts about language and its various disciplines. Tognini-Bonelli (2000) concludes that CL has a theoretical value that “allows explaining and describing the facts of language before using them in a given situation. It is therefore in a position to contribute specifically to other applications” (p. 205).

Conversely, McEnery and Wilson (2001) view the debate around whether to consider CL as a theory or methodology of language from a different perspective. According to Baker (2006) and McEnery and Wilson (2001, p. 1), corpus linguistics is perceived as nothing but a methodology created from a set of theoretical principles of language. Similarly, Leech (1992) perceives it as only a methodological basis for studying language. McEnery, Xiao, and Tono (2006) argue that they cannot perceive corpus linguistics as an independent branch, and that “corpus linguistics is indeed a methodology rather than an independent branch of linguistics in the same sense as phonetics, syntax, semantics or pragmatics” (p. 7). These authors argue that such disciplines explain and clarify some specific aspects of language use, while corpus linguistics is not limited to certain aspects of language, and can be used to explore any area of language, pointing out that syntax, for example, can be studied using a corpus-based or non-corpus-based approach.

In this thesis, I view corpus linguistics as a methodology. It is a method rather than a theory. However, using it to analyze language data may lead to building some theories. McEnery et al. (2006) note that corpus linguistics employs corpora to study language use and has a theoretical status, but still theoretical status is not theory in itself. Biber et al. (1998) state that one of the strengths of corpus approach is that it can be applied to empirically investigate almost any area of linguistics.

### **3.2.2.2. Corpus-driven Vs. Corpus-based**

Tognini-Bonelli (2001) distinguishes between two types of corpus research, namely: corpus based and corpus driven. In the former, the corpus is used as an inventory of language data. The proponents of corpus-based approach analyse some of the examples mentioned in the corpus to investigate their questions and test their theories. The corpus in the latter approach is considered to be the only source of information from which researchers can retrieve, extract and analyse whatever data they need in order to observe some linguistic patterns. In this approach, the corpus is said to be accessed with no prior assumptions or preconceived theories, and so it may bring some issues into surface that the traditional linguists have not paid that attention to. Tognini-Bonelli (2001, p. 86) argues that “the unexpectedness of the findings derived from corpus evidence leads to the conclusion that intuition is not comprehensively reliable as a source of information about language”. However, McEnery et al. (2006) argue that it is difficult for the researchers to analyse corpus data from a complete

naive stance, and describe a corpus driven approach as an idealized extreme. They recommend that researchers should adopt some theoretical frameworks or hypotheses to modify or even refute before accessing or approaching the corpus.

In this thesis, a combination of corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches is used. As explained above, in corpus-driven, the analysis is driven by whatever is frequent or salient in the data, while in corpus-based, users approach the corpus to test pre-existing hypotheses. I will approach the corpus by generating frequency and keyword lists, and then analyze the words that are frequent and salient. In the other part of the analysis, when I examine how *Qaddafi* is represented before, during, and after the Libyan uprisings, my approach is more corpus-based oriented as I want to test the claims raised by some scholars about the impact of the Arab uprisings on media, and how the toppling of some long-standing Arab regimes exposed the inconsistent and biased coverage of some media outlets. Accordingly, the collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* is used to check such claims not based on one articles or two, but thousands of articles.

### **3.2.3. Types of corpora**

It can be argued that any collection of texts is called a corpus. However, a prototypical corpus from a corpus linguistic perspective is a “finite-sized body of machine-readable text, sampled in order to be maximally representative of the language variety under consideration” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001, p. 24). Yet, some types of corpora are open, and texts can be continually added to. Compared with the databases, corpora usually have syntactic, semantic, and morphological annotations and even mark-up data (meta-data) including headers, authors, titles and others.

There are different types of corpora; for example, a corpus might be general (reference corpus), which would be very large indeed, containing millions of words from many contexts (e.g. spoken and written language, in formal and informal styles). Sometimes, there is little point in having a very large corpus when tackling a specific issue, and so a decision can be made to only include relevant texts, and so have more valid and accurate outcomes. For this, a specialised corpus would be created. Specialised corpora are considered to be one of the most important and useful in terms of discourse analysis (Baker, 2006). This is

because they can be restricted to only include relevant texts, and so have more valid and accurate outcomes.

For this study, a corpus was created which is **specialized**, as it only contains news articles about the *Arab Spring*, *Qaddafi*, and *Libya* in a particular time period, **comparable** because it has both Arabic and English texts, **diachronic** since it includes articles published between 2009 and 2013 and **do-it-yourself (DIY)** corpus as it was built to tackle a specific research question in a specific area.

### 3.2.4. Corpus Linguistic techniques

In corpus linguistics, common analytical techniques are dispersion, frequency, clusters, concordance, collocation, and keywords. Each of these is discussed below. In this section, I describe these techniques, before discussing how they can contribute to uncovering discourse practices.

#### 3.2.4.1. Dispersion

Dispersion shows where the investigated words occur in the corpus relative to individual files. Dispersion can be *within* one corpus file (beginning, middle, end) or *across* the files of a corpus (Baker, 2010). In this study, since the newspaper articles in the compiled corpora are saved based on the month when they occurred (for example the articles that were published in June 2009 are saved in a text file entitled *June 2009*), the dispersion plots to be created will follow the latter method; that is *across* the files of a corpus. For example, I will create different dispersion plots to see where some terms such as *Libya* and *Qaddafi* occurred in the investigated corpora/sub-corpora, and examine whether these terms are presented similarly and equally in these corpora or not. Since the compared corpora and sub-corpora are of different sizes, the dispersion plots will be generated based on the normalized frequencies per million tokens which can be calculated as follows:

**Frequency per million words =**

Raw frequency/number of words in the corpus or sub-corpus\*1,000,000

Using normalized frequencies rather than raw frequencies is good in terms of the validity of a hypothesis. Figure 3.1 shows a screenshot of one of the corpus linguistic software packages, Wordsmith 6 (Scott, 2012), while operating dispersion plot.

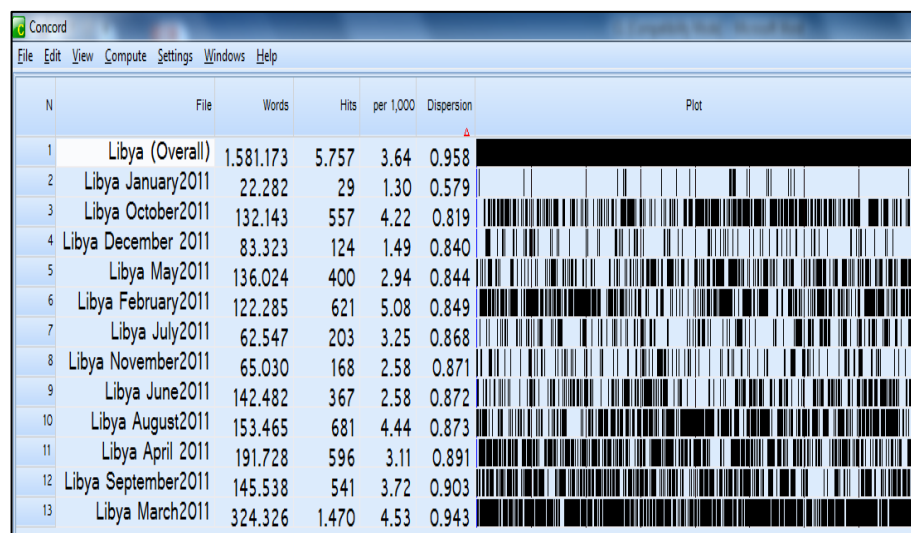


Figure 3.1: A screenshot of WS6 operating concordance plot

In figure 3.1, the *file* column contains the name of the source text, followed by the number of words it has, and the number of occurrences of the search-word in it. The *plot* column shows where the search word occurred in the text file (Scott, 2010).

### 3.2.4.2. Word frequency

Frequency analysis refers to a count of how many times an element (e.g. a word) occurs in the corpus. Frequency analysis enables researchers to recognize the most frequent words in a particular corpus, and then compare and contrast them with other frequent words in other corpora. It helps researchers to avoid observing unusual occurrences more than the typical ones, so potentially helps to make conclusions more objective. In this thesis, I will generate frequency lists for the three time periods (before, during, and after the uprisings) in the four newspapers to uncover the different news foci about *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the three periods.

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Lemmas	Set
1	THE	3,722	3.32	117	97.50		
2	TO	2,979	2.66	119	99.17		
3	IN	2,763	2.47	117	97.50		
4	OF	2,560	2.29	118	98.33		
5	AND	1,703	1.52	117	97.50		
6	LIBYA	1,366	1.22	103	85.83		
7	FOR	1,364	1.22	113	94.17		
8	ON	1,247	1.11	115	95.83		
9	AS	875	0.78	102	85.00		
10	IS	862	0.77	104	86.67		
11	GADDAFI	549	0.49	45	37.50		
12	BY	539	0.48	97	80.83		
13	WITH	535	0.48	104	86.67		
14	FROM	507	0.45	100	83.33		
15	SYRIA	468	0.42	66	55.00		
16	COMMENT	439	0.39	50	41.67		
17	BUT	417	0.37	87	72.50		
18	AT	406	0.36	95	79.17		
19	BE	405	0.36	91	75.83		
20	LIBYAN	397	0.35	77	64.17		
21	OVER	393	0.35	92	76.67		
22	WAR	382	0.34	79	65.83		
23	IT	368	0.33	85	70.83		
24	NEW	362	0.32	93	77.50		
25	OBAMA	352	0.31	73	60.83		
26	LETTER	344	0.31	60	50.00		
27	REBELS	334	0.30	58	48.33		
28	ARAB	331	0.30	67	55.83		

Figure 3.2: A screenshot of WS6 operating the wordlist tool

Figure 3.2 shows the word, followed by its frequency, the number as a percentage of the running words in the text(s), in how many texts the word appeared, the number of texts as a percent of the whole corpus of texts (Scott, 2010).

### 3.2.4.3. Clusters

Word frequency provides an objective way of gauging the salience of certain concepts in a corpus. However, concepts are not just represented by single words, and so it is important to also consider the frequency of multi-word units or clusters (Baker, 2010). This provides some information about the context in which the words in question appear. Using CL analytical software, researchers can choose the length of the cluster (i.e. the number of words in each cluster), and the position of the node word on the left or right of the cluster. CL analytical software also enables researchers to sort the cluster alphabetically, or by frequency. In this thesis, if I do not want to carry out a thorough and detailed investigation for a particular linguistic element, cluster analysis is used to quickly find common expressions or patterns of repeated phraseology in the investigated corpus. Figure 3.3 is a screenshot of WS6 operating a cluster analysis of *Libya*; for example, ‘*Libya and*’ was mentioned 401 times. At the right of the screenshot there is a column which contains a set of related clusters to the main one in column 2.

N	Cluster	Freq.	Set	Right	Related
1	IN LIBYA	1,521			
2	LIBYA S	899			OF LIBYA S (141), LIBYA S NEW (55), IN LIBYA S (53), LIBYA S NATIONAL (39), TO LIBYA S (39), LIBYA S OIL (35), FC
3	OF LIBYA	481			OF LIBYA S (141), PEOPLE OF LIBYA (34), THE PEOPLE OF LIBYA (33), OF LIBYA AND (32), OUT OF LIBYA (29), GOV
4	LIBYA AND	401			IN LIBYA AND (145), LIBYA AND THE (46), OF LIBYA AND (32), IN LIBYA AND THE (19), TO LIBYA AND (19), LIBYA AND
5	TO LIBYA	359			TO LIBYA S (39), TO LIBYA TO (34), AMBASSADOR TO LIBYA (19), TO LIBYA AND (19), TO LIBYA IN (15), BACK TO LIB
6	ON LIBYA	202			ON LIBYA S (20), ATTACK ON LIBYA (14), ON LIBYA THE (10), ON LIBYA AND (9), ON LIBYA IN (9), CONFERENCE ON
7	LIBYA IS	197			IN LIBYA IS (62), LIBYA IS NOT (27), LIBYA IS A (20), LIBYA IS THE (11), THAT LIBYA IS (11), INTERVENTION IN LIBYA
8	IN THE	187			LIBYA IN THE (35), IN THE LIBYA (10), IN THE NEW LIBYA (10), IN THE NEW (10), IN THE CASE (8), IN THE CASE OF
9	OVER LIBYA	174			ZONE OVER LIBYA (54), NO FLY ZONE OVER LIBYA (54), OVER LIBYA AND (12), OVER LIBYA BUT (8), PROPHECIES
10	OF THE	170			OF THE LIBYA (31), ONE OF THE (7), OF THE NEW (6), OF THE LIBYA OPERATION (6), OF THE LIBYA CAMPAIGN (6)
11	FROM LIBYA	162			FROM LIBYA S (19), FROM LIBYA TO (16), FROM LIBYA AND (12), CITIZENS FROM LIBYA (8), NEWS FROM LIBYA (8),
12	LIBYA TO	157			TO LIBYA TO (34), IN LIBYA TO (30), FROM LIBYA TO (16), FOR LIBYA TO (10), LIBYA TO THE (9), OF LIBYA TO (8), L
13	LIBYA THE	153			IN LIBYA THE (47), FRONT LIBYA THE (12), OF LIBYA THE (10), ON LIBYA THE (10), TO LIBYA THE (7), AND LIBYA TH
14	FOR LIBYA	146			FOR LIBYA S (32), FUTURE FOR LIBYA (21), FOR LIBYA TO (10), THE FUTURE FOR LIBYA (8), AND THE FUTURE FOR
15	IN LIBYA AND	145			IN LIBYA (1521), LIBYA AND (401), LIBYA A (49), IN LIBYA AND THE (19), IN LIBYA AND THE MIDDLE (9), IN LIBYA AND

Figure 3.3: A screenshot of WS6 operating clusters

#### 3.2.4.4. Concordance (KWIC: Key word in context)

A concordance tool investigates a particular linguistic item in its context by considering the surrounding words that might range from one word to the left or right of that item to the whole text if needed (McEnery & Wilson, 2001). The selected word for investigation that appears in the centre of the screen is called *the node* word. Concordance is one of the ways usually used to refute the opinion of those who claim that corpus linguistics is only a quantitative way of analysis. The concordance tool/technique allows researchers to carry out a qualitative analysis by enabling them to study the item in its co-text. In this study, after carrying out frequency, cluster, keyword, and collocation analyses, the next step would be creating concordance lines for the words selected for further investigation. In some cases, concordance's search generates hundreds and even thousands of lines. In such cases, Hunston (2002) recommends researchers to select some lines for general analysis and other few lines to be examined in detail, and then build some hypotheses based on them. After that, some other lines might be taken to verify or refute the hypotheses they previously formed, yet their selection should be random in order to achieve some objectivity and avoid bias:



A corpus-user can probably cope with looking at, at any one time, about 100 lines for general patterns and about 30 lines for detailed patterns. If the word under investigation is a frequent one, such a small number of lines will not show all the patterning, and slightly different methods may be employed. An adaptation of this method is 'hypothesis testing', in which a small selection of lines is used as a basis for a set of hypotheses about patterns. (Hunston, 2002, p. 52)

Baker (2010) suggests that researchers should examine all concordance lines if they have enough time because reducing the number of concordance lines may not reveal new results. In addition to this, sorting concordance lines in different ways might lead to having different results as this might draw researchers' attention towards some new patterns surrounding the investigated term (Wynne, 2008). An example of concordance analysis is demonstrated below (Figure 3.4) where *Libya* is the node word, and the lines are sorted one word to the left (first sort preference), and then one word to the right (second sort preference).

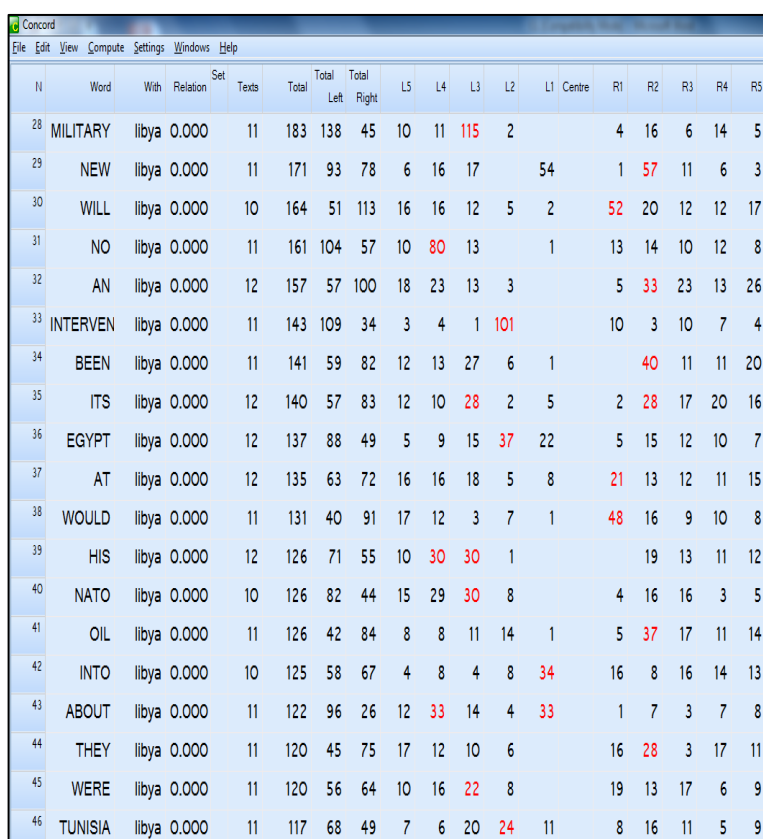
N	Concordance
95	be "far preferable" to sending him back to Libya under the prisoner transfer deal brokered
96	Miles pointed out that Megrahi's transfer to Libya under the PTA would have been contrary
97	Oliver Miles, a former British ambassador to Libya, where he was frequently invited to the
98	life, sounded more irritable later, on a visit to Libya, where he said he had no interest in the
99	are not helping us. You will be sent back to Libya, where they will get tortured.' " Notes
100	beside the Mediterranean from Alexandria to Libya, while opposite, Liese Spencer visits the
101	as Violet fired, set out for a triumphal visit to Libya with a sticking plaster on his nose.

Figure 3.4: A screenshot of WS6 operating concordance

### 3.2.4.5. Collocation

Collocation as a term was coined by Firth (1957) who states that “you shall know the word by the company it keeps!” (p. 179). Therefore, collocation is related to the words that are usually observed together in naturally occurring language as if there is an exclusive and frequent relationship between them. A statistical definition of collocation has been used by Stubbs (2001, p. 29) who states that “my definition is [...] a statistical one: “collocation” is frequent co-occurrence”. In corpus linguistics, collocation provides researchers with some details about the ties or relationship between words. Software can calculate collocations by observing how many times the word *x* occurs near the word *y*. The most common statistical tests to calculate collocation are Dice Coefficient, MI, Z-score, T-score, and log-likelihood. Dice Coefficient favours medium frequency collocates which tend to be lexical words; Log-

likelihood and MI3 favour high frequency grammatical words; MI gives high scores to low frequency words; and t-score favour high frequency words (Baker, 2014). It is the role of researchers to specify the collocation span, i.e. the number of words on the left and the right of x, putting into account that different spans may lead to different types of relationships. The most typical collocation span is  $\pm 5$  words (five words on either side of the node word). Looking for collocates within the same sentence or across sentence boundaries is also important as the relationships between words within the same sentence are viewed to be stronger. In this thesis, collocation will be the most used corpus linguistic technique. In common with the previous studies, if I want to carry out a thorough and detailed investigation for a particular linguistic element such as *Qaddafi*, collocation would be my first option. Figure 3.5 is a screenshot of WS6 operating a collocational analysis for the word *Libya*. For example, the word *military* collocated with *Libya* in 11 texts for 183 times; it came 138 to the left of the search-word and 45 to the right. The other columns contain the frequencies of the collocates to the left and right of the search word; for example, 5L means 5 words to the left of the node word (Scott, 2010).



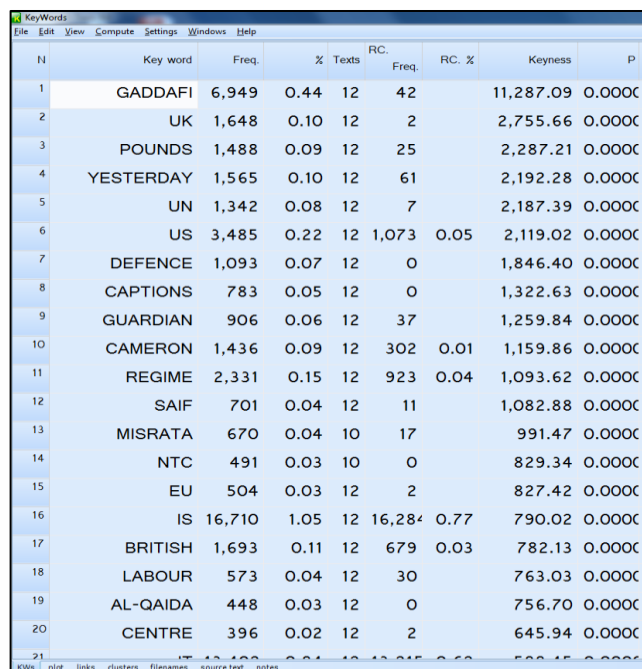
The screenshot shows the WS6 Concord interface with a table of collocates for the word 'Libya'. The table has columns for N, Word, With, Relation, Set, Texts, Total, Total Left, Total Right, L5, L4, L3, L2, L1, Centre, R1, R2, R3, R4, and R5. The data rows show various collocates like MILITARY, NEW, WILL, NO, AN, INTERVEN, BEEN, ITS, EGYPT, AT, WOULD, HIS, NATO, OIL, INTO, ABOUT, THEY, WERE, and TUNISIA, each with their respective frequencies in the specified columns.

N	Word	With	Relation	Set	Texts	Total	Total Left	Total Right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
28	MILITARY	libya	0.000		11	183	138	45	10	11	115	2			4	16	6	14	5
29	NEW	libya	0.000		11	171	93	78	6	16	17		54		1	57	11	6	3
30	WILL	libya	0.000		10	164	51	113	16	16	12	5	2		52	20	12	12	17
31	NO	libya	0.000		11	161	104	57	10	80	13		1		13	14	10	12	8
32	AN	libya	0.000		12	157	57	100	18	23	13	3			5	33	23	13	26
33	INTERVEN	libya	0.000		11	143	109	34	3	4	1	101			10	3	10	7	4
34	BEEN	libya	0.000		11	141	59	82	12	13	27	6	1		40		11	11	20
35	ITS	libya	0.000		12	140	57	83	12	10	28	2	5		2	28	17	20	16
36	EGYPT	libya	0.000		12	137	88	49	5	9	15	37	22		5	15	12	10	7
37	AT	libya	0.000		12	135	63	72	16	16	18	5	8		21	13	12	11	15
38	WOULD	libya	0.000		11	131	40	91	17	12	3	7	1		48	16	9	10	8
39	HIS	libya	0.000		12	126	71	55	10	30	30	1				19	13	11	12
40	NATO	libya	0.000		10	126	82	44	15	29	30	8			4	16	16	3	5
41	OIL	libya	0.000		11	126	42	84	8	8	11	14	1		5	37	17	11	14
42	INTO	libya	0.000		10	125	58	67	4	8	4	8	34		16	8	16	14	13
43	ABOUT	libya	0.000		11	122	96	26	12	33	14	4	33		1	7	3	7	8
44	THEY	libya	0.000		11	120	45	75	17	12	10	6			16	28	3	17	11
45	WERE	libya	0.000		11	120	56	64	10	16	22	8			19	13	17	6	9
46	TUNISIA	libya	0.000		11	117	68	49	7	6	20	24	11		8	16	11	5	9

Figure 3.5: A screenshot of WS6 operating collocation

### 3.2.4.6. Keywords

Keyword analysis has the same function as frequency which is identifying the focus of the corpus but in a more complex way (Baker, 2004). Keyness is the high frequency of words or cluster of words in one corpus when compared with a reference corpus. Scott (1999) notes that when carrying out keyword analysis, three types of keywords are found, namely, keywords that gives indications of the ‘aboutness’ of a particular text (what a corpus or a text is about), high frequency words which may be indicators of style rather than aboutness, and proper nouns. The word that occurs more frequently in one corpus than another is called a key. Keywords are calculated by carrying out tests such as chi- squared or log likelihood on the frequent words of the studied corpora. These tests are used to test whether the results are significant or not. To calculate them, some information is needed such as the frequency of the keyword in corpus A, the total number of words in corpus A, the frequency of the keyword in corpus B, and the total number of words in corpus B. Keyness in this thesis is calculated internally, i.e. the two investigated English newspapers will be compared against each other, and the two Arabic newspapers will be compared against each other as well without using general corpora of English and Arabic. An example is shown in Figure 3.6.



N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness	P
1	GADDAFI	6,949	0.44	12	42		11,287.09	0.0000
2	UK	1,648	0.10	12	2		2,755.66	0.0000
3	POUNDS	1,488	0.09	12	25		2,287.21	0.0000
4	YESTERDAY	1,565	0.10	12	61		2,192.28	0.0000
5	UN	1,342	0.08	12	7		2,187.39	0.0000
6	US	3,485	0.22	12	1,073	0.05	2,119.02	0.0000
7	DEFENCE	1,093	0.07	12	0		1,846.40	0.0000
8	CAPTIONS	783	0.05	12	0		1,322.63	0.0000
9	GUARDIAN	906	0.06	12	37		1,259.84	0.0000
10	CAMERON	1,436	0.09	12	302	0.01	1,159.86	0.0000
11	REGIME	2,331	0.15	12	923	0.04	1,093.62	0.0000
12	SAIF	701	0.04	12	11		1,082.88	0.0000
13	MISRATA	670	0.04	10	17		991.47	0.0000
14	NTC	491	0.03	10	0		829.34	0.0000
15	EU	504	0.03	12	2		827.42	0.0000
16	IS	16,710	1.05	12	16,284	0.77	790.02	0.0000
17	BRITISH	1,693	0.11	12	679	0.03	782.13	0.0000
18	LABOUR	573	0.04	12	30		763.03	0.0000
19	AL-QAIDA	448	0.03	12	0		756.70	0.0000
20	CENTRE	396	0.02	12	2		645.94	0.0000
21	IT	13,100	0.81	12	13,015	0.60	500.15	0.0000

Figure 3.6: A screenshot of WS6 operating keyword tool

Figure 3.6 shows the keyword, how many times it occurred in the corpus, this (frequency) number as a percentage, in how many texts it occurred, its frequency in the reference corpus

(RC. Freq. column), this (frequency) number as a percentage, the word's Keyness based on chi-square or log likelihood statistical tests, and p value (Scott, 2010).

### **3.3. Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics**

There are different approaches researchers can follow to carry out discourse analysis; one of them is to use corpus linguistic techniques to discursively analyze texts or communicative events. Such an approach is sometimes referred to as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) (Partington, Morley, & Haarman, 2004). It fits between the quantitative and qualitative poles, and attempts to combine the advantages of each. Partington (2008) argues that Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies' (CADS) main aim is to uncover non-obvious meanings that are not open, in most cases, to direct observation. Some differentiate between Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), and Corpus Linguistic Critical Discourse Analysis (CLCDA). The two approaches are considered as corpus approaches to discourse analysis, they incorporate the use of computerized corpora in the analysis, they have eclectic nature, they make use of other sources of information outside the corpus, and they do not treat corpus as an isolated black box. However, CADS takes a less overtly critical stance to analysis than CLCDA (Baker & McEnery, 2015). Corpus Assisted Discourse Analysis (CADS) as noted by Partington, Duguid, and Taylor (2013) is "not tied to any particular school of discourse analysis... unlike CDA, it has no overarching political agenda" (p. 10). This implies that CLCDA is included under CADS. For example, Baker's et al study (2008) is inspired by Wodak's DHA, but still is categorized as CADS. This thesis is similar to that study, and so could be categorized as both.

As noted earlier, there has been a rapid increase in work which has combined aspects of CDA and CL. This combination has been used as evidence for disadvantage of minority groups through uncovering some hidden ideologies in society, e.g. the constructions of the deaf (Hunston, 2002), the examination of gay men (Baker, 2005), and the study of the elderly (Hardt-Mautner, 2007). Baker et al. (2008) and Baker (2012) argue that the most fruitful approach is to combine CL's quantitative and CDA's qualitative approaches and use them cyclically, such that claims arising from one analytical position are testable with the tools of the other. This avoids the unhelpful argument concerning whether a qualitative or quantitative analysis is 'best', and acknowledges that there are insights to be gleaned from a combined approach. This section focuses on three main areas, namely the advantages of

using CL in (Critical) Discourse Analysis studies, CL as a way to enable researchers to uncover or explore discourses, and using different corpus techniques in discourse studies.

### **3.3.1. The advantages of using CL techniques in (Critical) discourse studies**

Hardt-Mautner (1995) investigates the computer's ability to uncover discourses, and recommends that qualitative and quantitative techniques need to be combined, not play off against each other. Similarly, McEnery and Wilson (2001) argue that combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches offers two main advantages; namely it makes the qualitative analysis more precise, and the quantitative results more reliable and generalizable. The combination between CDA and CL has been described as a 'natural match' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995), and a 'useful methodological synergy' (Baker et al., 2008) to show that the combined effect of the interaction between the two is greater than the sum of their individual effect. Hardt-Mautner (2009) points out that the potential of the combination between CDA and CL rests on three factors. First, CL provides CDA with a greater amount of data when compared with the small texts or fragments that CDA researchers analyse manually. Second, by broadening the empirical base of CDA, CL can help CDA analysts be more objective. Third, CL analytical software provides researchers with quantitative and qualitative ways to analyse their data. Partington (2003) draws three conclusions for carrying out (C)DA with the aid of corpus linguistic tools based on three levels. At the simplest level, corpus techniques contribute to finding some examples of a phenomenon that has already been noted. At the other level, it uncovers some patterns that were unthought-of previously. In between these two levels, it can support, falsify or revise researchers' intuition by showing why and how much of their suspicions were grounded.

Importantly, many other researchers have also supported the idea of combination. For example, O'Halloran and Coffin (2004) emphasize the role that CL can play in facing some of the criticisms of CDA, and Orpin (2005) highlights some of the advantages of this combination, such as investigating larger texts and enhancing reliability. Van De Mierop (2005) recommends using large corpora in discourse studies to get a full picture of the data, and highlights that corpus linguistic tools can provide researchers with the salient words/phrases to be analysed qualitatively. Marchi and Taylor (2009) mention some

popular claims about CL and CDA, and review the strengths and weaknesses attributed to the two approaches (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Some popular claims about CL and CDA (Marchi & Taylor, 2009)

The Strengths and Weaknesses of CDA and CL	
Corpus Linguistics	Critical Discourse Analysis
Quantitative	Qualitative
Data driven	Theory driven
Representative samples	Individual contextualised examples
Statistical relevance = representative	Social relevance= meaningful
Breadth	Depth
Generalizability	Precision and richness
Replicability = greater objectivity	Political intent = subjective interpretation
Descriptive power	Explanatory power

As shown in Table 3.3, CL is a quantitative approach that is being used or applied to process large collections of texts which are characterised to be representative. This approach helps in having a relatively greater distance between the researcher and the data. CL also adopts some statistical tools to give generalizable descriptions of the investigated data that is, in most cases, decontextualized, and maybe put the findings at risk. Conversely, CDA is a qualitative research approach that depends on making a close reading for some fragments, which are related to the topic under investigation, and this might help the researchers achieve deep analysis and thick explanation. In using CDA, data are analysed within the social and political contexts. This means that using these two extremes in one study may make the findings of the study broader and robust. In the same vein, Baker (2010) states that a corpus-based analysis of discourse or ideology is useful since it contributes to improve and boost small-scale qualitative analysis rather than neglect or replace it. Therefore, it is important to note that using the tools, techniques, and assumptions that are available in both CL and CDA enables researchers to process a large number of texts, and ensures a thorough analysis at almost all levels rather than having impressionistic and anecdotal comments. Hardt-Mautner (2009) uses the metaphor of the movie awards, *The Oscars*, to praise the idea of the combination saying that “at an Oscar night of methods, my vote would be on corpus linguistics as Best Supporting Actor” (p. 124). Hardt-Mautner (2009) uses the same metaphor to emphasize that the research will end up successfully if there was a clear statement of the project, a rigorous assessment of what each method can or cannot do, and robust theoretical foundations that capture the core assumptions about language and society;

“even an Oscar-winning supporting actor cannot rescue a bad film, but they can make a good film great” (p. 142).

### **3.3.2. Corpus-assisted analysis as a way to enable researchers to uncover discourses**

Since discourse is constructed via language and corpus is a collection of naturally occurring language, it can be argued that corpora provide their users with some information about the societies in which that language is used. Stubbs (2001) stresses that strong discourses are repeated and iterated in language, and the repeated patterns show that their use is not personal and idiosyncratic. To link these aspects with corpus linguistics, Baker (2010) argues that corpora contain a collection of naturally occurring language which contains repetitions and patterns that suggest discourse traces, and discourse can be made to be naturalized by being reiterated in everyday language. Stubbs (2007) states that corpus linguistics is important for discourse studies because repeated events are significant, and if the patterns occur several times in the language of many different speakers, then they cannot be dismissed. These repeated patterns represent good evidence of what is typical and routine in language use, so a corpus-assisted analysis enables researchers to uncover discourses and patterns that are difficult to be explored manually.

However, there are some concerns regarding the combination of both CDA and CL. Hardt-Mautner (2009) contends that the availability of World Wide Web and electronic processing has enabled researchers to choose the data that suits their theories, and this may lead to too much bias. Hardt-Mautner (2009) also highlights that social change is at its fastest, and so it is difficult to investigate such development in some static corpora. Virtanen (2009) discusses the relation between discourse analysis and corpora and notes that texts and discourses are presented as products, and these products are the outcomes of a process that has taken place between the interlocutors of a unique communication situation, which create contexts and culture. Meanwhile, it is pertinent to note that the end product is not as simple as it appears in the corpus because it involves many aspects such as negotiation, adaptation, and the encyclopaedic knowledge of interlocutors (Virtanen, 2009).

Another concern is represented by the fact that some discursive information is discarded when the texts are saved in the form of a corpus. Partington (2008) highlights that CL is

usually characterised by treating the corpus as a ‘black box’, and recommends that analysts should “familiarise themselves with particular texts within the corpus in case the special features these texts may possess should distort his or her conceptions of the corpus as a whole” (p. 98). Partington’s concern, mentioned above, can be addressed by motivating researchers to extend and improve their corpora to include different types of information about text production and reception, and text relation with other texts. They can consult dictionaries, organizations, demographic statistics and surveys or people about the use and the definitions of specific terms. Moreover, the information that researchers get by expanding the concordance lines can help them, in some cases, to infer some contextual aspects and even recreate the context (Brown & Yule, 1982). Despite this fact, Virtanen (2009) also argues that corpus data are decontextualized as they are separated from their situational and socio-cultural contexts, and are recontextualized as the data are given a new context in the corpus. Virtanen (2009) argues that mark-up and tagging might provide some information about the investigated text, but will never restore its original context since the news story may appear originally in the newspaper in a specific shape, in a given place, and next to other visual materials.

Corpus linguistics is also criticized for being too broad, and not facilitating a close reading of the text. Partington (1998) addresses such concern using the telescope-microscope analogy, and notes that this is the same as complaining that the telescope may let us look at “the faraway phenomena rather than allowing us to look at things close up like microscope!” (p. 144). Kenny (2001) argues that corpus linguistics is like a kaleidoscope, giving the researchers the opportunity to see some patterns in the texts come into focus before they recede and other patterns take their place. Therefore, corpus linguistics is useful in investigating some linguistic phenomena rather than others instead of neglecting the whole method altogether. The next section discusses in details how frequency, concordance, collocation, and keyword can contribute to uncovering some discourse practices.

### **3.3.3. Corpus techniques and Discourse Analysis**

This section shows how CL can contribute to CDA. I demonstrate how the quantitative analysis which recognizes patterns of language is used to show whether the phenomenon is common or usual, and how numbers cannot tell us everything about the texts, but must be tied with qualitative analysis to provide functional interpretations of language patterns.



### 3.3.3.1. Frequency and discourse

Frequency can reveal some facts about discourse and attitudes, and can be an indicator of markedness which is a way to understand something based on its relation with other things, sometimes by its opposite (a binary distinction) (Baker, 2010). For example, examining the frequencies of words like *natural* and *unnatural* in the British National Corpus (BNC) revealed that people prefer the former over the latter; where *natural* was mentioned 14,068, while *unnatural* was mentioned only 463 (Baker, 2010). Analysing frequencies may also provide researchers with the focus of the corpus. Investigating why people sometimes prefer using specific terms rather than others is beneficial for discourse analysts as this may help them uncover evidence of bias in texts, especially when combined with other background information (Stubbs, 2007). For example, examining how the words *man* and *woman* are used in the BNC, Baker (2010) found that former appeared 58,860 times, while the latter appeared 22,008 times. Such lexical preference for the use of *man* over *woman* suggests evidence of sexist discourse. To explain this significant preference for the use of the former over the latter, Baker examines some of the occurrences of the two terms in the BNC, and found that *man* can be used as a generic expression to refer to both men and women, and can be used as a verb, while *woman* is used to refer only to women, and is never used as a verb. Examining the most frequent words in their context may suggest some other aspects to be studied closely, such as the authors' political stance, and the reasons that motivated them to select particular words and repeat them over their texts. Institutions or people can express their political stances or attitudes toward a specific topic if they keep using some words rather than others repetitively and consistently, given the fact that the meaning of words is dynamic and can be changed or expanded (Breheny, 2003). Frequency is important for discourse analysis because language is not a random affair, and people have the choice to select which words to use and which words to neglect or not use. Their choices, therefore, may reveal something about the ideology, attitudes and intention of text producers.

### 3.3.3.2. Collocation and discourse

Collocation can also be used in discourse studies to uncover some ideologies by revealing some information about the subtle meanings and connotations that the words may have. Collocation is useful for CDA because it provides researchers not only with the semantic definition of the word, but also with other implicit aspects of the same word within a

particular discourse (Forest, 2007). Collocation is closely bound up with ‘discourse prosody’ (Stubbs, 2001) which is suggestive of attitudes as it studies the relation of words’ meanings to the speaker and hearer (Baker, 2006). Using a corpus of naturally occurring language, a lexical item can be classed to have negative, positive or neutral discourse prosody if it predominantly/frequently co-occurs with unpleasant, pleasant, and neutral collocates. Baker (2010) argues that the verb *cause*, for example, tends to collocate with negative events although it has no negative meanings in its own but its frequent occurrences with negative events creates such negative association.

The relation between collocation and discourse mainly depends on the context in which the two words occur, who the receivers and producers of the text are, and how the audience process the phrase. When two words or phrases keep appearing next to each other in most contexts, it would be difficult for the text receivers to exclude any of them, and once one of these words is mentioned, they will directly think of its collocate (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). This process may affect how issues are viewed and understood. For example, in the case of media, if particular words/phrases were used next to each other over a period of time, and people receive them repeatedly over the same period of time, the two words after a while turn out to have a strong relation they did not have before.

Hunston (2002) argues that collocation patterns are “often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness, and they can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement” (p. 109). Hunston (2002) supports this notion by giving the example of *illegal* and *immigrant* collocates, and suggests that the strong relation between these two terms, created and adopted by media, may lead people to adopt, without even questioning, that immigration in itself is wrong. This process may even get more complicated, especially, when people hear one word of the collocation and immediately and unconsciously recall and think of the other one. Therefore, *migration* directly brings into mind *illegal*, and consequently people’s attitudes and behaviours toward *immigrants* are changed and affected over time. Similarly, Akbarzadeh and Smith (2005) argue that the recurrence of some collocates like *Islam* and *terrorism* may affect people’s attitudes towards *Muslims* and *Islam* as a religion. Collocation is important for discourse analysis because it reveals strong lexical relations and some discourse traces quickly by suggesting unconscious associations, in addition to being obvious and salient (Baker, 2006). Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) indicate that collocation can provide evidence which reinforces, refutes or revises conclusions that

were generated based on small-scale qualitative analysis, or formulated through introspection.

### 3.3.3.3. Keywords and discourse

Keyword analysis helps researchers recognize the focus of the corpus as it reveals the items that occur more or less regularly in a given (set of) texts than would be expected by chance. Yet, some words are frequently used in most, if not all, types of discourse, while others are not. Recognizing that the word occurs rarely in a corpus or sub-corpus is something that deserves studying, while observing the same word in different corpora means that the use of the word in the corpus is unmarked and does not deserve that much investigation. Keyword represents a helpful indication of the text producers' political stance towards a particular issue especially if it was further examined and analysed with the aid of concordance and collocation tools. For example, Hardt-Mautner (2009) examined a collection of email exchanges regarding anti-terrorism between Blair, the former British PM, and a journalist called Porter, and found that the word *law* appeared in the emails of the two, but occurred significantly more frequently in Porter's emails. Mautner argues that such marked preference reflects Porter's argument that Blair's government undermines the rule of law, while Blair's infrequent use of the word can be read as an avoidance strategy, and indicates his reluctance to engage directly with Porter's argument.

Baker (2010) used a 130,000 word corpus of anti-blood sport legislation debates of the British Houses of Commons to compare the arguments of the speakers who are for and against the proposed changes to the law. Carrying out a keyword analysis for both sets of speakers, Baker found that anti-hunt speakers, to convey their stance on the issue, used some words more saliently/ frequently than the pro-hunt speakers such as *cruel*, *bloodthirsty*, and *obscene*. Conversely, the pro-hunters saliently/ frequently used some words such as *freedom*, *offence*, *sanctions*, and *criminal* to describe the anti-fox hunting law as negatively affecting civil liberties and freedoms. Keyword also gives researchers a general impression about the presentation of the investigated topic especially if they group the keywords that are related to similar topics or metaphors together (Baker, 2004, 2006).

### **3.3.3.4. Concordance and discourse**

Concordance analysis is the area where CL and CDA overlap. After generating frequency, collocation, and keyword lists and identifying the most frequent/salient related lexis and lexical patterns in the investigated text, researchers can carry out a concordance analysis to examine the immediate co-text of these terms. Concordance analysis is helpful for discourse analysts because examining the language features in the co-text along with investigating the contextual background of the analysed communicative events can uncover some discourse traces (Sunderland, 2004) about the attitudes and behaviours of the whole society (Baker, 2006). Baker (2010) mentions two reasons why concordance is fundamental for discourse analysis, namely: it contributes to uncovering evidence for discourse prosodies and without it; analysts might make incorrect conclusions about the content of the investigated corpus. Furthermore, collocations and frequencies could reveal sometimes incorrect assumptions, but with the aid of concordance, researchers can study the words in their co-text in more details, and so show the hidden side of CL being both a quantitative and qualitative method.

This thesis uses a combination of these techniques. As discussed above, these techniques are useful for those interested in combining both qualitative and quantitative methods in one study. However, researchers should work hard to avoid bias in their selection of some words from the frequency, collocation, or keyword lists to further investigate. They should justify why they selected some particular words rather than others, and their choices should be salient within a text, and representative of the whole text.

## **3.4. Corpus-assisted discourse studies**

The number of discourse studies with the aid of corpus linguistics is still limited compared to studies published in each field separately. This might be because the combination is relatively new, in addition to being cross-disciplinary which appears to be subject to some resistance. Baker (2006) interprets this limited number to three factors; namely, the misconception of corpus linguistics, the unfamiliarity with computers, and the ability to choose valid and suitable topics for investigation.

Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) use a 140 million word corpus of UK press articles, published between 1996 and 2005 to examine the representation of refugees and asylum seekers. They

follow a corpus-based approach to carry out synchronic and diachronic analyses of the data, and discuss the advantages of using a corpus-based approach in CDA studies. The study concludes that the methodological combination used was inductive, and directed the researchers towards salient or frequent linguistic patterns which were then analysed with the aid of the CDA concept of *topoi*. Gabrielatos and Baker recommend corpus analysts to consider the social, political, historical, and cultural contexts of the data. In this thesis, some of the linguistic elements of the texts will be analysed based on the contextual background of the Arab Spring, the 2011 Libyan civil war, and the relations of the countries where the four newspapers are located and mainly published with the regime of Qaddafi. This thesis also combines both corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches to diachronically examine how Qaddafi is represented in Arabic and English newspapers in a time span of five years.

Baker et al. (2008) examine the extent to which CL can effectively contribute to the field of CDA in general and Wodak's discourse historical approach (DHA) in particular. They employ a 140-million-word corpus of British news articles about immigrants, migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers between 1996 and 2005. The corpus was compiled from twelve British national and three regional newspapers including Sunday editions. The study concludes that corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis have strengths and weaknesses, and that the findings of one approach can triangulate with the results of the other. The combination of the two would also help in reducing the criticisms against each method separately. The study provides some possible stages that other researchers may follow when conducting such types of studies in the future. In this thesis, I examine how CL overlaps with other models and approaches of CDA focusing on the three main CDA approaches (van Dijk's, Fairclough's, and Wodak's). Furthermore, this thesis raises some questions about the methodological synergy of CL and CDA such as to what extent the previous studies used the combination, whether the combination is easy and straightforward as the word 'synergy' indicates, and whether the qualitative (CDA) and quantitative (CL) types of analysis are distributed equally in those studies, or CL takes the lion's share.

Similarly, Kandil (2009) follows a corpus-based approach to investigate how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is discursively represented in the Arab, American, and British Media. The study examines three corpora from the news websites of Al-Jazeera (Arabic), the CNN (English), and BBC (English). The keyword analysis of the three corpora against general

corpora of Arabic and English suggests that some themes such as occupation, terrorism, and settlements were found to be keys in the coverage of these channels. Some of the themes received greater emphasis in some outlets rather than others based on their political and ideological orientation. Concordance and collocation analyses along with some CDA notions, particularly Van Dijk's ideological square (1998) show how these channels adopted some strategies to represent the different actors of the conflict mainly the Palestinians and the Israelis. It also demonstrates how media make some particular word choices in order to report the same communicative event. In this thesis, I investigate newspapers texts rather than news channels contents, and not only work on Arabic and English texts, but also highlight the challenges that may face the researchers applying corpus-assisted methods on languages other than English.

Salama (2011) employs the corpus linguistic technique of collocation and the CDA assumption of lexico-semantic relations to examine how the Wahhabi-Saudi has been ideologically recontextualized post-9/11 attacks. The study explores the actualization of clashing ideologies at collocation level in two polemical books. These books are: *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror* published immediately after 9/11 incident, and *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*. The study concludes that collocations can contribute ideologically to the recontextualization of discourses across clashing texts. In this thesis, I use different tools of corpus linguistics, not only collocation, to examine how other corpus techniques might be used to uncover discourses about the investigated phenomenon. In his study, Salama (2011) examined *Wahhabi* in an anti-Wahhabi book and *Wahhab* in a pro-Wahhabi book. Although Salama justified his choice of these two node words and clarified that *Wahhabi* represents a group classified according to their religious affiliation, and *Wahhab* refers to 'Ibn Abd al-Wahhab', the founder of the movement, he did not mention how each term was represented in the other corpus although this might potentially create different types of results. This is because the collocates that associate with the name of the group might carry over a considerable potential for negative associations, when compared to the name of the scholar, i.e. the group's founder. Gabrielatos and Duguid (2015) refer to this as confirmation bias which is the tendency of the analyst to only notice what confirms his hypothesis and beliefs, and ignore what contradicts them.

Baker (2012) highlights some of the methodological issues which arose as a result of combining CDA and CL, and addresses the issue of how CDA practitioners can identify social power, and how corpus techniques contribute to uncovering such identifications. The study also examines whether using corpus linguistic techniques with CDA frameworks completely removes the bias of the analysts whose interpretations usually suit their own agendas. Given the CDA's explicit position, and its aim of highlighting the problematic inequalities of power, the study shows that using statistical approaches to test some hypotheses may provide a fuller picture of the topic rather than concentrating on the negative cases and this may improve the CDA stance and make it more influential, credible, and convincing. The study concludes that the analysts ought to be careful in overstating the ability of CL to reduce researcher bias as interpreting and evaluating quantitative patterns are still subject to human bias bearing in mind that the aim for neutral objectivity is in itself a 'stance'. In this thesis, the analysis will be driven by the results of the different corpus techniques; for example, if a particular theme dominated one of the created lists, the word that is more related to that theme is analyzed. In addition, the most frequent or statistically strongest words are analyzed. Such choices might contribute in reducing the researcher's bias to prove or refute a pre-existing hypothesis or claim.

Corpus approaches to discourse analysis have been applied on texts of different languages; for example, Kandil (2009), discussed above, used three corpora of news from Al-Jazeera (Arabic), BBC (English), and the CNN (English) to investigate how the Palestinian- Israeli conflict is represented in the Arab, British, and American Media; Grundmann and Krishnamurthy (2010) used Nexis news media archive to examine how the climate change issue is framed in the US, the UK, France and Germany based on these countries' climate change policies; and Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) used a large corpus of German and British newspaper data to examine the discourse of feminism. However, they did not highlight how the structure, morphology, and writing style of the investigated languages affect the analysis, or the efficiency of the corpus software in processing the compiled texts. Accordingly, this thesis contributes to understanding the general challenges involved in doing such types of research on languages other than English (Arabic in this case).

The combination of Corpus Linguistics and (Critical) Discourse analysis can be achieved using different ways. One of them is asking a discourse analyst and a corpus linguist to examine the same dataset, and address the same research questions (see Baker & Levon,

2015; Marchi & Taylor, 2009). Marchi and Taylor (2009) carry out a quasi-experiment into triangulation to examine the increasingly widely employed combination of CL and DA. Their study explores the extent to which integrating corpus approaches may contribute to the stability of interpretations. Marchi and Taylor adopt an exploratory experiment approach to discover if two researchers had the same corpus, started with the same research question, and had a similar theoretical/ methodological background, came to the same/similar conclusions. The study examines the combination of CL and CDA and whether it offers greater objectivity, more generalizable, and more transparent outcomes. The analysis shows three types of findings, namely dissonant findings, convergent findings, and complementary findings, and supported the idea of triangulation between these two methods.

Baker and Levon (2015) investigate whether using a larger corpus necessarily guards against cherry-picking, and whether different methods can produce different types of findings. Baker, who is an exponent of CL, and Levon, a CDA exponent, examine similar datasets of 41.5 million word newspaper articles to answer the same research question about the representation of different types of men in the British press. The study uses a down-sampling method for the CDA researcher by including the articles which contain the most references to 6 different types of men in the investigated nine newspapers. The two researchers claim that they relatively ‘naively’ approached the corpus without forming hypotheses in advance or making link findings to existing theories. Baker’s and Levon’s findings were either convergent or complementary. The study concludes that the triangulatory approach of both methodologies has clear advantages, and recommends that in addition to the approach developed by Baker et al. (2008), corpus assisted studies may be applied by different experts in different fields as their results may be convergent, complementary, and dissonant. In this thesis, the compiled corpus will be saved in different forms, namely RTF, plain text, only content, POS tagged, mark-up, and headlines. This will enable other researchers (who will use the corpus in the future) to have different down-sampling options. These options may include looking at only the titles of the articles using the sub-corpus of the headlines, or examining materials that are not based on newswires such as the readers’ comments, letters to the editors, or editorials bearing in mind that the marked-up data form in this study will ease the process of distinction between reporting and analysis.



Some scholars (see Baker et al., 2008; Hardt-Mautner, 2009; Partington, 2008) outlined some steps that researchers can follow in corpus linguistic discourse analysis studies. The steps below are a combination of the main stages mentioned in the literature.

**Step 1:** Designing research questions. Hardt-Mautner (2009) mentions two caveats that are related to the contribution of CL to CDA. First, the usefulness of this method depends mainly on the research question that the researcher is trying to answer. The second caveat is related to the researcher's need to recall one of the principled tenets of CDA which is looking beyond the text to unearth the social meaningful interpretations (see step 3).

**Step 2:** Building and compiling an appropriate corpus. This step includes different procedures such as getting a copyright permission, organizing the corpus, and others.

**Step 3:** Investigating the context by reading about the history, politics, and culture of the topic under investigation. Such information enables the researchers to set the scene for further analysis. This step also includes surfing the existing literature and reading some studies that utilised both methods.

**Step 4:** Finding a suitable CL software package to run the corpus through it.

**Step 5:** Making frequency and Keyword lists, and examining the relative frequencies to the topic at stake, and the statistically significant keywords that are directly connected to this topic.

**Step 6:** Generating collocation and cluster lists for some lexical patterns that have been found in step 5.

**Step 7:** Making a qualitative concordance analysis for some of the lexical patterns found in steps 5 and 6, and identifying some potential sites for possible discourses.

**Step 8:** Studying the lists that are created through steps 5-7 to find the items that seem to group together into semantic sets, and so uncover a number of ideological motifs.

**Step 9:** Checking whether the outcomes refer to some theoretical frameworks or not, i.e. utilising some CDA notions to interpret and explain the results.

**Step 10:** Refining the research questions and formulating new hypotheses.

**Step 11:** Making further corpus analysis based on new hypotheses and questions if any.

### **3.5. A concluding statement**

As shown in this chapter, over the last 20 years, there has been an increase of work which has combined aspects of CDA and CL into a mutually beneficial methodological synergy. In general, what distinguishes the combination of CDA and CL from other approaches lies in its creation of a desirable middle between two extremes. Hardt-Mautner (1995) discusses the issue of relying mainly on the qualitative approach and forgetting all about the quantitative aspects by saying that “what is gained in terms of depth is usually lost in terms of breadth: the more detailed and holistic the method, the less data one can reasonably hope to cope with” (p. 3). The synergy between these two methods reduces the criticism addressed to each of them individually. Accordingly, it is recommended for discourse analysts not to adhere only to their traditional methods, but also try to carry out some of their studies with the aid of other methods, such as the one of corpus linguistics. This enables them, according to Sinclair (2004) to change the traditional way of doing discourse analysis, verify or refute their theories and hypotheses, and give them a sense of generalization. It also enables them to discover and investigate new phenomena that are hard or even impossible to be found using naked eyes and short texts. In the same vein, Hardt-Mautner (1995) argues that although the analyst’s intuition is an important and powerful tool that we cannot ignore, using a corpus of language data contributes to answering what Biber and Finegan (1991) call “Mount Everest questions - questions arising because the corpora are available but otherwise practically impossible to imagine” (p. 205).

In this chapter, the theoretical framework of this research is defined by introducing the fields of Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis and how they work together. I then reviewed some studies that were carried out using CL analytical framework. The next chapter discusses the research method and design of this study. It provides some thoughts about designing corpora for discourse analysis studies, information about the analysed newspapers with the reasons why they were selected, and details about how the collected data was organized and then analysed using some CL analytical software.

## 4. CHAPTER FOUR

### Research Method and Design

This chapter explores the research method and design adopted in this thesis. In this case, the chapter discusses why newspapers were selected as a source of data in this study, how corpora for discourse analysis studies are designed, and what the practical constraints involved in designing such types of corpora are. This chapter further explores the newspapers investigated, justifications for their selection, the sample size, the analytical software used in analysing the corpora, and the steps followed to organize and analyse the compiled data.

#### 4.1. Newspapers as a source of data

In this thesis, the main corpora were designed based on the research aims and objectives. They were developed based on the text source (newspapers from different places/ with political stances), text topic (Qaddafi and Libya), text language (Arabic and English), and time span (2009-2013). My choice for the four investigated newspapers, namely: *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* published in Arabic, and *The Guardian*, and *The New York Times* published in English lies in two main reasons. First, they are broadsheets not tabloid papers and so have long and more detailed articles, and second, they have relatively high circulation as sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 show.

##### 4.1.1. Arabic Newspapers

In the Arab world, most newspapers support the policies of the government and those in power, and are prohibited from publishing criticism to the state's regime and army (Amin, 2002). Journalists are subject of political pressures that might include arrests, detention, and exile. In the Arab press, letters to the editor are rarely published, and if so the flow of opinions is restricted (Rugh, 1987). Skovgaard-Petersen (2006) states that the establishment of three main London-based pan-Arab newspapers, namely *Asharq Al-Awsat* (1978), *Al-Hayat* (1986), and *al-Quds al-Arabi* (1989) contributed to the development of the Arab press. Skovgaard-Petersen (2006) also states that "scholars and journalists who work on the Middle East quickly took these newspapers to heart, as they were generally more outspoken than the

local newspapers” (p. 84). In this study, two of the three pan-Arab newspapers, namely, *Al-Quds Al-Arabi*, and *Al-Hayat* newspapers were excluded because I intended to examine only one pan-Arab newspaper. In addition, *Asharq Al-Awsat* has a higher circulation than the other two newspapers. Another reason is related to the ability of retrieving the articles directly from the newspaper’s websites; the website of *Asharq Al-Awsat* has a feature that is not available in many other Arabic newspapers as it has a free archive that allows users to look for the articles that contain particular word/s or phrase/s in a particular time period. It also allows using some relation terms such as *AND*, *OR*, and *NOT*. The second Arabic newspaper used in this study is *Al-Khaleej* which is published in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). The UAE was selected to check how some events related to the period of the Arab uprisings are represented in a country that has not witnessed any protests. Ulrichsen (2012) notes the crucial role that some small states like Qatar and the United Arab Emirates played in the wake of the Arab Spring, where these two countries have become increasingly visible global actors in the regional and international affairs.

#### **4.1.1.1. Asharq Al-Awsat (الشرق الاوسط)**

Journalism in Saudi Arabia, where *Asharq Al-Awsat* is mainly published, is strictly controlled, and the media organizations have to exercise self-censorship to avoid government scrutiny. The country even bans political parties, and any calls for reform are faced severely (BBC News, 2009). Although most of the early and current pan-Arab channels and newspapers are Saudi-owned (Boyd, 2001), they are still located outside Saudi Arabia as the environment of media within Saudi Arabia is one of the most tightly controlled in the region. The government owns and operates almost all of domestic television and radio. Saudi Arabia has the most controlled media system in the Gulf region (Lee, 2004). The country has a committee to monitor all local and foreign publications (Amin, 2002). Saudi Arabia ranked 8th in the most countries imposing severe controls on domestic coverage based on a report published by CJP (The Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). Media law in Saudi Arabia as described by the report is highly restrictive and vaguely worded, with severe and arbitrary penalties. In addition, the Saudi authority has the right to appoint and fire the editors. Based on the report, at the time of the 2011 Arab uprisings, the local news websites that covered the very minor protests in Saudi Arabia were shut down, and the international news outlets operating inside Saudi Arabia limited their reporting on that matter in order to maintain accreditation (The Committee to Protect Journalists, 2012). Wright (2004) argues that no

provocative news is published about the royal family and the government in Saudi Arabia because most media organisations are owned by members of the royal family and their allies.

*Asharq Al-Awsat* (الشرق الاوسط) translated in English as *The Middle East* is a pan-Arab newspaper located in London. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is considered to be one of the oldest pan-Arab newspapers with its first issue published on July 4, 1978. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is often regarded as a leading international Arab daily newspaper that has both paper and electronic versions. Its content varies to cover international/regional political news, social issues, economic news, as well as sports news and entertainment. According to the newspaper's website, *Asharq Al-Awsat* is a comprehensive daily newspaper that is directed to the Arab readers everywhere and is printed simultaneously in 12 cities in four different continents. It occupies a prominent position in covering the regional Arab and international western affairs, and provides its readers with an in-depth analysis and detailed interviews with prominent and influential personalities. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is seen as a voice for politics and perspectives of Saudi Arabia (Boyd, 2001). Alterman (1998) points out that about two thirds of the newspaper's readers are Saudi. However, Alterman argues that the newspaper "is not merely a mouthpiece for the Saudi regime...Its pages host a relatively wide variety of views, and it is followed as one of the best indicators of developments in the Saudi kingdom" (p. 9). According to the Global Investment House's report on Saudi Research & Marketing Group (2009), *Asharq Al-Awsat* had a circulation of 235,000 copies per day.

#### 4.1.1.2. Al Khaleej (الخليج)

The United Arab Emirate, where *Al-Khaleej* is published and located, was founded in early 1970s. The country has witnessed a massive growth that was supported by the oil wealth. Journalism in the UAE lies within a category that is "still far away from being institutionalized and well-protected democratic systems" (Hafez, 2008, p. 325). As in most Arab countries, there are strict media laws in the UAE and severe constraints are put on journalists and media organisations. There are high levels of censorship on media in the United Arab Emirates, and the country offers little protection for journalists (Weinberg, 2008). Duffy (2013) points out that the UAE sits firmly in the "not free" category in terms of journalism based on the press freedom index which takes into account the political pressures that influence reporting. Several newspapers in the UAE are owned by the government or

government officials, and journalists are fully aware of the “red lines” that they should not cross (Duffy, 2011). Even the private newspapers have self-censorship because of such factors in addition to being indirectly controlled by the government. Accordingly, local newspapers in the UAE are expected to run press releases from the government news agency without offering a critical reaction, comments, or seeking other opinions to the information supplied by governmental resources.

*Al-Khaleej* (الخليج) is an Arabic daily newspaper, located in Sharjah, the United Arab Emirates, and published by *Dar Al-Khaleej* since 1970, and is considered to be the first daily newspaper published in the UAE (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013). Based on the newspaper’s website, *Al-Khaleej* aims to emphasize the idea of unity in the Arab Gulf region that combines national belongings and Arabic roots. It also aims to consolidate the Arabic and Islamic identity and culture, in addition to proposing some ideas that help to achieve development, enlightenment, knowledge and public freedoms. *Al-Khaleej* is one of the most popular newspapers in the UAE, and has a circulation of around 114,800 copies per day according to the Press Preference website.

#### **4.1.2. English Newspapers**

The two selected English newspapers are *The NYT* and *The Guardian*. What distinguishes them from their rivals is their high coverage of international issues. For example, Kautsky and Widholm (2008) mentions that 78% of the *Guardian*’s online readers are from outside Britain. In the same vein, the *NYT* is a “leading newspaper with regard to the coverage of international news and views, drawing readers from every state and around the world” (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007, p. 148).

According to industry analyst ComScore (ComScore Data Mine, 2012), *Mail Online*, *New York Times* and *The Guardian* ranked first, second, and third respectively as the most read online newspapers as figure 4.1 shows:

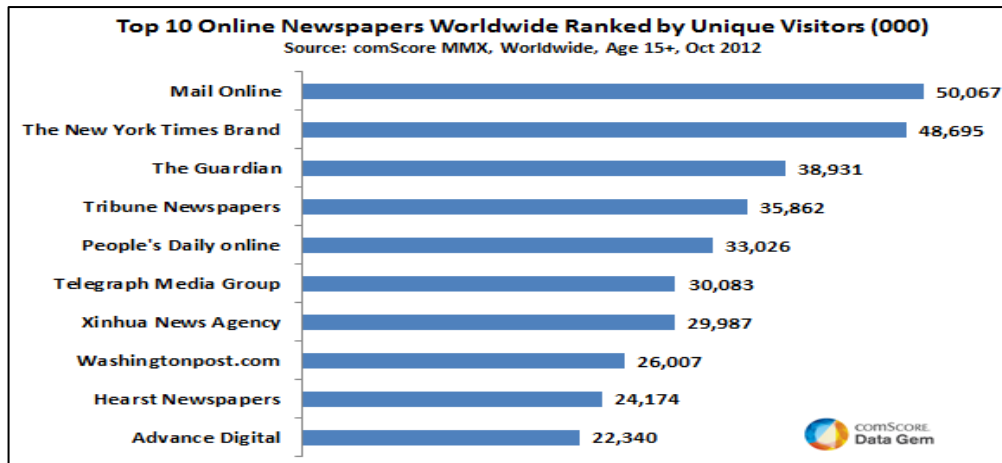


Figure 4.1: Top 10 Online Newspapers (ComScore, 2012)

In 2014, the Guardian has passed the NYT, and became the world’s second most popular English-language newspaper website after the Daily Mail according to comScore (The Guardian, 2014). *Mail Online* which is the website of the Daily Mail was excluded because it is a tabloid newspaper not a broadsheet. This research is limited to broadsheet newspapers because tabloids “sensationalise news using images and headlines to dominate the page” (Uribe & Gunter, 2004, p. 439). In addition, this study depends on a huge amount of data and a large body of text, and broadsheets tend to have longer and more detailed articles than tabloid (Douglas, 2009).

#### 4.1.2.1. The New York Times

The *New York Times* (NYT) is an American Newspaper, located and published in New York City since 1851. Blake (2014) pointed out that people who read *The New York Times* tend to be more liberal. In the same vein, and in an interview with the CNN, Margaret Sullivan, the NYT public editor, admitted that the paper does have a liberal bias. In 2011, according to comScore Inc. (a leader in measuring the digital world), the *New York Times* site has 30 million unique monthly users due to its superior news content. The newspaper has a circulation of around 1,865,318 copies per day and 2,322,429 on Sunday.

As discussed in chapter 1, media coverage of conflict can be determined by different factors which include the country to which the media organisation belongs, ownership structure, and editorial policy. Lee (2004) argues that one of the criticisms of the American media at their coverage of conflicts and war is that they rarely question the policy of the U.S. in the conflict

region. However, the *NYT* is seen as a leading newspaper in international reporting and “the final arbiter of quality and professionalism across all the news media” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996b, p. 125). The newspaper plays an important agenda setting role in the international news coverage in the United States, and continues to decide what is and what is not news, and how the story should be covered and reported (St. Clair, 2015). The *NYT*, according to Qian and Yanagizawa-Drott (2013), has one of the largest stable foreign news staff and is therefore most likely to obtain independent information, and is more likely to write breaking news stories with their own staff rather than pick up stories from other U.S. news agencies.

#### **4.1.2.2. The Guardian**

The *Guardian* is a British daily newspaper established in 1821. The paper was formerly known as *The Manchester Guardian* until 1959. As indicated by the newspaper website, one of the central tenets of the Scott Trust, the owner of the Guardian media group, is to secure the *Guardian* as a “quality national newspaper without party affiliation, remaining faithful to its liberal tradition”. Regarding the newspaper political affiliation, it is mentioned in the *Guardian*’s website that although people usually assume that the *Guardian* is linked inextricably to the Labour party, the *Guardian* has “supported all three main political parties during its history”. However, Cook (2011) claims that the *Guardian* is “the most purchased ‘left-wing’ or ‘liberal’ (non-tabloid) newspaper in England” (p. 4). In the same vein, different researchers (see Bayley & Williams, 2012; Painter, 2013) described the newspaper as “the left leaning Guardian”. According to the National Newspapers Report (2013) published by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC), *the Guardian* has a circulation of 189,000 hard copies per day.

## **4.2. Data collection and corpus compilation**

The corpus of this study will be built from scratch using a news database as it is the most common way of retrieving news data in corpus linguistic (critical) discourse analysis studies (see Baker et al., 2013b; Baker & Levon, 2015; Grundmann & Krishnamurthy, 2010). Databases like Factiva and LexisNexis are designed for structured searching, and this means that they are powerful, efficient, and can provide researchers with very precise results. News databases contain news articles from a range of news outlets from all over the world in different languages. Furthermore, the available search options in the news databases



allow users to look for the articles that contain particular word/s or phrase/s, restricted to (a) particular newspaper/s or (a) particular time period/s.

#### 4.2.1. Query terms

The two notions of precision and recall were taken into consideration in the process of selecting the query terms to build the corpus of this study. In the case of precision, the corpus consists of the texts that are relevant to the topic, but does not contain all relevant articles available in the database, so the corpus is described as incomplete (Chowdhury, 2004). In the case of recall, the corpus contains all of the available texts in the database, so the corpus is usually described as having a lot of noise as it contains some irrelevant texts (Chowdhury, 2004). Since this study investigates the latest (at the time of writing) Libyan protests, two core query terms suggested themselves strongly, namely, *Libya* and *Qaddafi*, and led to the following core query: “libya\* OR gaddafi\*”. The choice of these two terms is important given the clearly defined purpose of building the corpus. In this thesis, selecting some query terms after determining the research questions and objectives was not clear-cut as I added other three query terms after investigating some parts of the compiled corpus. For example, some strong collocates were used as query terms after they proved to be very relevant to the investigated topic, and these include the three Libyan cities of *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt*.

To achieve a good degree of specificity in the compilation of the corpus, I did not extend the query terms to include the articles that discuss the phenomenon of the Arab Spring in general. Therefore, the terms *Arab*, *spring*, *uprisings*, and *revolution* were excluded as I found that including many terms related to the general topic under investigation; i.e. the Arab Spring, distracts the right direction of the research objectives which are mainly related to the Libyan civil war. The query terms chosen to compile the corpora of this study are divided into three categories, namely, the name of the investigated country (*Libya*), person (*Qaddafi*), and cities (*Benghazi*, *Tripoli*, and *Sirt*). The query terms were as follow:

*libya\* OR gaddafi\* OR qaddafi\* OR Kaddafi OR tripoli\* OR benghazi\* OR sirt*

The Arabic versions of these query terms are stated below:

ليبيا أو قذافي أو طرابلس أو بنغازي أو سرت

I also searched for the same terms with the upper case, and got the same number of results.

*Libya\* OR Gadhafi\* OR Qaddafi\* OR Kaddafi OR Tripoli\* OR Benghazi\* OR Sirt*

#### 4.2.2. English and Arabic Newspapers in news Databases

I checked whether the investigated Arabic and English newspapers are available in some news databases. Beginning with Factiva, a news database, I found that it does cover the content of the two English newspapers (*The Guardian* and *The NYT*) in the specified time period (2009-2013). Using Factiva (figure 4.2), users can save or view selected headlines or articles in Rich Text Format (RTF) or as a PDF document. They also have the options to select *Headline Format*, *Article Format or Headline*, and *Article and TOC (Table of Content)*. In this study, I selected *Article Format or Headline*, and saved the articles as RTF in order to make some changes easily such as removing some parts of the headings or mark-up information before saving them as plain texts. In Factiva, there was an option to delete duplicates, and it was selected as will be shown in tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3.

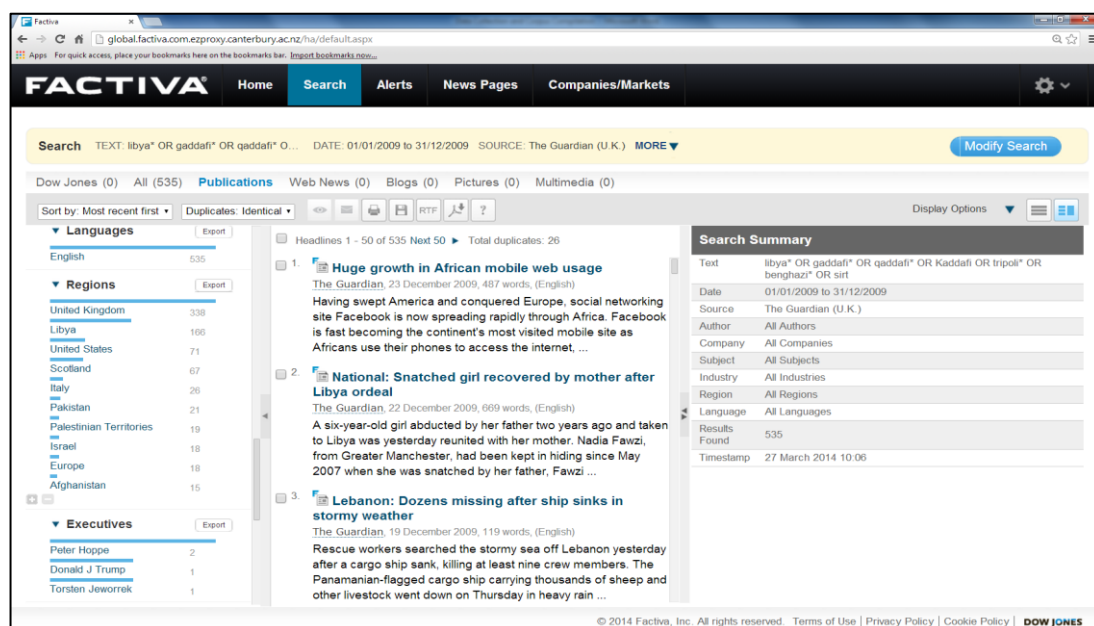


Figure 4.2: A snapshot of Factiva news database

The data from *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* were not available in Factiva and some other news databases such as LexisNexis and SyndiGate. Therefore, the Arabic data was directly retrieved from the newspapers' websites (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The websites of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* have a feature that is not available in many other Arabic

newspapers. They have a free archive that allows users to look for the articles that contain particular word/s or phrase/s in a particular time period. They also allow using some relation terms such as *AND*, *OR*, and *NOT*. To build the Arabic corpus, I used database-backed application that can be configured to download web content from specific websites. This application is written by another PhD candidate in political sciences at the University of Canterbury, Geoff Ford, and had previously been used to build and annotate a 57 million word corpus containing the separate utterances of speakers in the New Zealand Parliament from 2003 to 2016 (Ford, 2016). The software was configured to query the results page of a number of specific searches mainly *ليبيا libya\** OR *القذافي gaddafi\** OR *طرابلس tripoli\** OR *بنغازي benghazi\** OR *سرت sirt* on the websites of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* and from this to create a list of article pages that were subsequently automatically downloaded over a number of days. In total, the downloaded content comprised over 2GB of data. Ford's software was also configured based on my analysis of the HTML mark-up to identify the article content, titles, dates, authors and other significant data within each HTML page and to exclude extra irrelevant mark-up, menus, advertising and other unrelated content. The software was also configured to delete the duplicates. Using Ford's software, the relevant article data were exported into files that were named according to the date of the articles and marked up according to a format I had specified as will be shown in section 4.4.3. To test the accuracy of the data retrieval, I looked for the same query terms in a particular month directly from the newspapers' websites, and manually copy-pasted the content in .txt files. I then used WS6 to compare this file that I created manually, with the one created using Ford's software, and found that they are identical. In addition, the analysis itself is a form of testing.



Figure 4.3: A snapshot of Asharq Al-Awsat website



Figure 4.4: A snapshot of Al-Khaleej website

## 4.3. English and Arabic corpora size

### 4.3.1. English corpus size

Looking for the following query terms (libya\* OR gaddafi\* OR qaddafi\* OR Kaddafi OR tripoli\* OR benghazi\* OR sirt OR Surt) in Factiva between (1/1/2009) and (31/12/2013) in *The NYT* and *The Guardian* resulted in 8793 articles with a total word count of 7,345,100 (Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3).

Table 4.1: The size of the The New York Times' corpus

The New York Times						
Period	Year	Number of Articles	Duplicates	Total	Word count	Total of periods
Before	2009	350	92	258	202425	357,445
	2010	203	37	166	155020	
During	2011	2825	500	2325	2174932	2,174,932
After	2012	1434	358	1076	1085866	1,921,381
	2013	1123	333	790	835515	
	5 years	5935	1320	4615	4,453,758	4,453,758

Table 4.2: The size of The Guardian's corpus

The Guardian						
Period	Year	Number of Articles	Duplicates	Total	Word count	Total of periods
Before	2009	535	206	329	210626	400,482
	2010	386	119	267	189856	
During	2011	3371	964	2407	1596768	1,596,768
After	2012	1105	387	718	536403	894,092
	2013	722	265	457	357689	
	5 years	6119	1941	4178	2,891,342	2,891,342

Table 4.3: The size of the English corpus

The NYT+ The Guardian					
Newspaper	Year	Number of Articles	Duplicates	Total	Word count
The NYT	5 years	5935	1320	4615	4,453,758
The Guardian		6119	1941	4178	2,891,342
Total	5 years	12054	3261	8793	7,345,100

#### 4.3.2. Arabic corpus size

The Arabic corpus was directly retrieved from *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* websites using the following query terms *\*ليبتي\* أو القذافي أو طرابلس أو بنغازي أو سرت*, which translate into (*Libya OR Gaddafi OR Tripoli OR Benghazi OR Sirt*). The search resulted in 23285 articles with a total count of 19,324,789 (Tables 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6).

Table 4.4: The size of Asharq Al-Awsat's corpus

Asharq Al-Awsat				
Period	Year	Number of Articles	Word count	Total of periods
Before	2009	815	491211	1,035,058
	2010	874	543847	
During	2011	4957	3251198	3,251,198
After	2012	2322	1631762	2,791,117
	2013	1609	1159355	
Total	5 years	10577	7,077,373	7,077,373

Table 4.5: The size of Al-Khaleej's corpus

<b>Al-Khaleej</b>				
<b>Period</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Word count</b>	<b>Total of periods</b>
<b>Before</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>1625</b>	<b>798964</b>	<b>1,730,931</b>
	<b>2010</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>931967</b>	
<b>During</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>4843</b>	<b>5263018</b>	<b>5,263,018</b>
<b>After</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2478</b>	<b>3075157</b>	<b>5,253,467</b>
	<b>2013</b>	<b>1832</b>	<b>2178310</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>12708</b>	<b>12,247,416</b>	<b>12,247,416</b>

Table 4.6: The size of the Arabic corpus

<i>Asharq Al-Awsat+ Al-Khaleej</i>			
<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Word count</b>
<b>Asharq Al-Awsat</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>10577</b>	<b>7,077,373</b>
<b>Al-Khaleej</b>		<b>12708</b>	<b>12,247,416</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>23,285</b>	<b>19, 324,789</b>

Therefore, this study employs a corpus of about 27 million words as table 4.7 shows:

Table 4.7: The size of the English and Arabic corpora

<b>English and Arabic Corpora</b>			
<b>Corpus</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Number of Articles</b>	<b>Word count</b>
<b>English</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>8793</b>	<b>7,345,100</b>
<b>Arabic</b>		<b>23285</b>	<b>19,324,789</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>32,078</b>	<b>26,669,889</b>

#### 4.4. Organizing the retrieved articles

After retrieving the English newspapers' articles from Factiva and their Arabic counterparts from the newspapers' websites, I organised the corpus, marked up the articles, and tagged the data syntactically. I describe these steps in this section.

#### 4.4.1. Categorizing the results based on the months they occurred in

In order to be able to carry out a diachronic analysis for the newspapers' coverage of the Libyan uprisings, I combined the articles together on monthly basis. This monthly division enabled me to create dispersion plots, and explain the frequency 'spikes' (Baker et al., 2008) based on the different events that happened during these months (see figure 4.5 as an example). Sometimes, there seemed to be a significant increase in the number of articles in a particular month because of the occurrence of critical (newsworthy) events. For example, figure 4.5 shows that there was an increase in the number of articles that contain at least one mention of *Libya*\*, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, or *Sirt* in the *Guardian* in August and September 2009 as Al-Megrahi, the suspect of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, was freed on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya.

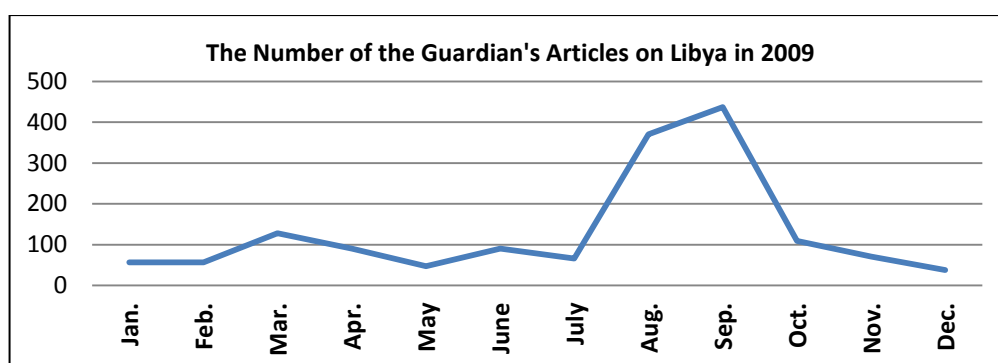


Figure 4.5: The number of articles on *Libya* in the *Guardian* (2009)

#### 4.4.2. Corpus syntactic annotation

After categorizing the articles based on the month of occurrence, I added some additional forms of annotation. It is not obligatory for all corpora to have such forms of data, especially if the research questions and aims have nothing to do with the syntactic tagging (Leech, 2005). The process of tagging corpora is carried out automatically using computer software. Tagging tool sets assign categories to the word based on the existing grammatical and morphological rules, lexicons, patterns or probabilities or a mixture of all the three (Baker, 2010). To annotate the English corpus syntactically, I used Lancaster University's free syntactic tag-set CLAWS C7 (Appendix ii) because it is reported to achieve 96-97% reliability. Regarding the Arabic corpus, I could not use the same tagging set as it does not support Arabic language, so the option available was to use Stanford Part-Of-Speech (POS)

tagging (Appendix iii). In this thesis, Qaddafi's collocates will be categorized based on their POS as will be shown in chapter 5.

### 4.4.3. Corpus mark-up


Corpus mark-up means including some extra information about the author of the text, his/her gender, age, nationality, and location. More so, it includes other details related to the audience, text genre, and being written or spoken. Mark-up may also be used to provide users with some information that helps them differentiate between headings and paragraphs, or bold and italics print. Such information is important in discourse studies as it leads to having more valid and accurate results with the aid of other contextual information (Partington et al., 2013). Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is considered to be one of the most famous encoding standards since it uses a set of guidelines for text encoding developed and derived from Standard Generalised Mark-up Language (SGML) (Ide, 1998). Below are some examples of SGML codes (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Examples of SGML codes

<b>SGML elements</b> occur within diamond brackets < >
< p > represents the start of a new paragraph.
A slash / after the left- hand diamond represent a closing element.
< /p > represents the end of a paragraph.
< FO1> represents female speaker number 1.
< MO2> represents male speaker number 2.

As mentioned above, the compiled articles are saved in Rich Text Format (RTF) based on the month of publication. Importantly, all of the saved articles have similar heading patterns (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9: The heading pattern of the Guardian

 Guardian Home Pages <b>National: Police coached Lockerbie witness to identify Libyan as bomber, appeal lawyers claim</b> Severin Carrell, Scotland correspondent 427 words 27 April 2009 The Guardian GRDN 10 English © Copyright 2009. The Guardian. All rights reserved.
--



*The Guardian* logo is saved as an image, and so was removed when saving the files as plain text. I removed everything in the headings except the first three lines which include the page where the article occurred, the title, and the author/s. I removed the line which contains the date since the articles are saved in a document titled based on the month and year of occurrence such as *April 2009*. In order to remove the last 7 lines of the heading, the following regular expression (a sequence of characters that define a search pattern) was used in Find/Replace function in Microsoft Word `[0-9],[0-9]@ words*@reserved. & [0-9]@ words*@reserved`. Since Microsoft Word does not offer the type of search-and-replace function necessary when working with multiple documents, and to allow batch processing, I used a program called Word Search and Replace to do so. After removing all of the irrelevant information, and having a similar pattern for all of the articles' headings, the data was marked up using Python (a programming language) (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: The mark-up style of the English articles

```
<head>
<page> Guardian Home Pages</page>
<title> Analysis: Battalions fight revolution online </title>
<author> Luke Harding and Charles Arthur </author>
</head>
```

Regarding the Arabic corpus, the meta-data was different as the articles were directly retrieved from the newspapers' websites. The example below shows how *Asharq Al-Awsat* newspaper was marked up (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11: The mark-up style of the Arabic articles

<url> <a href="http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=6&amp;issueno=11049&amp;article=508809">http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=6&amp;issueno=11049&amp;article=508809</a> </url>
<title>ليبيا أويل القابضة» تبحث استثمارات بقيمة 5 مليارات دولار في المغرب</title>
<leadquote>تهم قطاعات تكرير النفط والصناعات الكيماوية والمخصبات الزراعية</leadquote>
<issue>11049</issue>
<date>2009-2-27</date>
<year>2009</year>
<month>2</month>
<author>لحسن مقتع</author>
<city>الدار البيضاء</city>

This type of mark-up was useful as it enabled me to exclude all of the irrelevant information in the word count and so have accurate word count numbers. Therefore, the provided numbers above in tables 4.5 to 4.11 represent the word counts for only the headlines and the contents of the articles. Furthermore, it gives other researchers (those who will use the corpora in the future) the opportunity to build different sub-corpora such as the headlines' sub-corpus which contains only the titles of the articles.

#### **4.4.4. Dispersion plots for Libya and Qaddafi**

##### **4.4.4.1. Dispersion**

Since one of the main aims of this thesis is to investigate how *Libya* and *Qaddafi* were reported by different newspapers before and after the uprisings, I examined whether these two query terms; i.e. *Libya* and *Qaddafi* along with their derivatives are presented similarly and equally in the four investigated newspapers. This was a way of performing an early check of the likely validity of the corpora. Before examining the dispersion plots, it is worth highlighting two main aspects; first, since *Libya* and *Qaddafi* were used as query terms to build the corpora, they are expected to be frequent in the dispersion analysis; second, the two terms are expected to appear in period 2 (2011) much more than the other two investigated periods logically because 2011 sub-corpus is larger than the other two sub-corpora, and because the main investigated event represented by the Libyan revolution occurred in this period. Moreover, given the newsworthiness preferences in the market-oriented media, more coverage of the 2011 Libyan civil war and Qaddafi was expected in period 2 as this year was full of damage, injuries, disasters, and wars. The dispersion of *Libya*\*, based on its normalized frequency per million words, from January 2009 to December 2013 in both English and Arabic newspapers are shown below (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). These figures show how the use of *Libya*\* was increased or decreased in the four investigated newspapers.

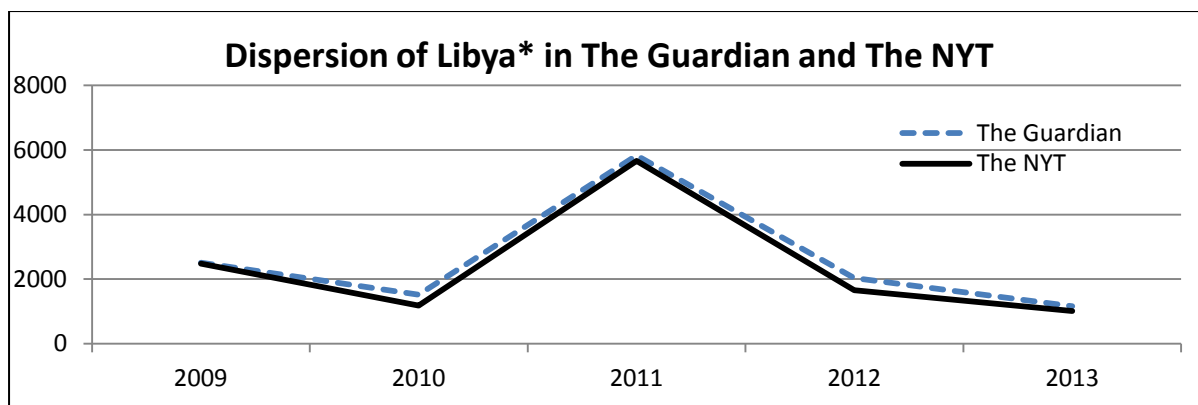


Figure 4.6: Dispersion of *Libya\** in the Guardian and the NYT (2009-2013)

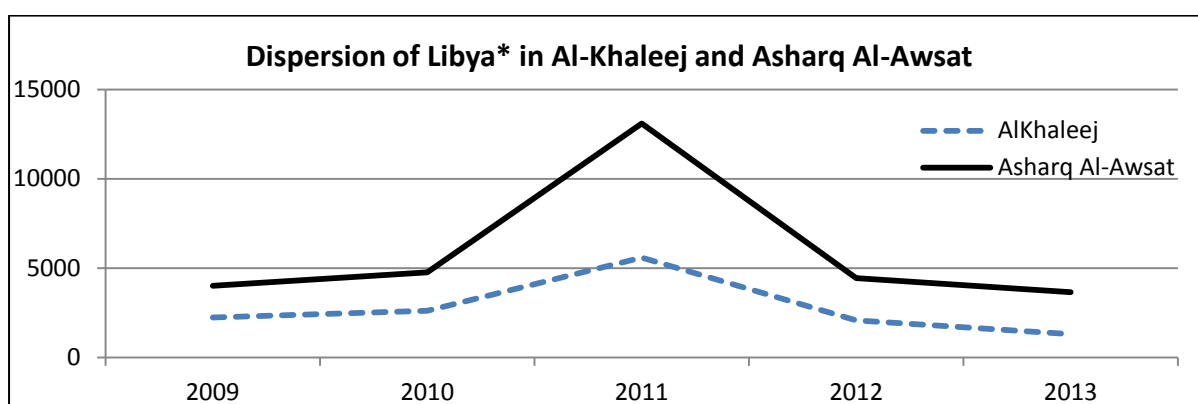


Figure 4.7: Dispersion of *ليبيا\* Libya\** in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat (2009-2013)

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show that the four newspapers have similar dispersions for *Libya\**. The normalized frequency for *Libya\** was almost the same in the two English newspapers. However, in their Arabic counterpart, it was mentioned more frequently in *Asharq Al-Awsat* when compared to *Al-Khaleej*. This shows that the former is more interested in covering news about *Libya* when compared with the latter. This can be further explained by giving the fact that *Asharq Al-Awsat* is a pan-Arab newspaper, and has a wider coverage of political news in all Arab countries. It covers pan Arab events and crises' areas such as Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and others. However, *Al-Khaleej* is a daily UAE newspaper whose main interest is to cover the local events related to the UAE. The newspaper is, however, noted for occasionally dedicating a considerable space to cover what is happening in other Arab countries.

The four newspapers have similar 'peaks' (Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013a). This shows a sense of consistency in the use of *Libya\**. The mentions of *Libya\** were low in

2009 and 2010, however the newspapers' use of the term was increased dramatically and reached its peak in 2011, the time when the Libyan uprisings occurred and the former Libyan president Qaddafi was killed. The coverage by the four newspapers regarding *Libya* decreased again after 2011. This suggests that the era of the Arab Spring resulted in a marked rise in the news focus on *Libya* being one of the main countries that were affected by the uprisings.

Although the figures show a constant dispersion of *Libya\** during the whole period (2009-2013), there were sub-peaks in the newspapers' coverage based on the different important events that happened during each individual sub-corpus. Here, the interests of the English newspapers regarding what is happening in the investigated region are different from their Arabic counterparts as shown in figures 4.8 and 4.9 which represent the dispersion of *Libya\** in period 1 (2009/2010) in the *Guardian* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*. For example, figure 4.8 shows that there was an increase in the use of *Libya* in the *Guardian* in August and September 2009 as Al-Megrahi, the suspect of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, was freed on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya. In July 2010, there was another spike as the British Petroleum (BP) confirmed that it had won a license to work off the Libyan coast. The company was immediately accused of lobbying for the Lockerbie bomber's release.

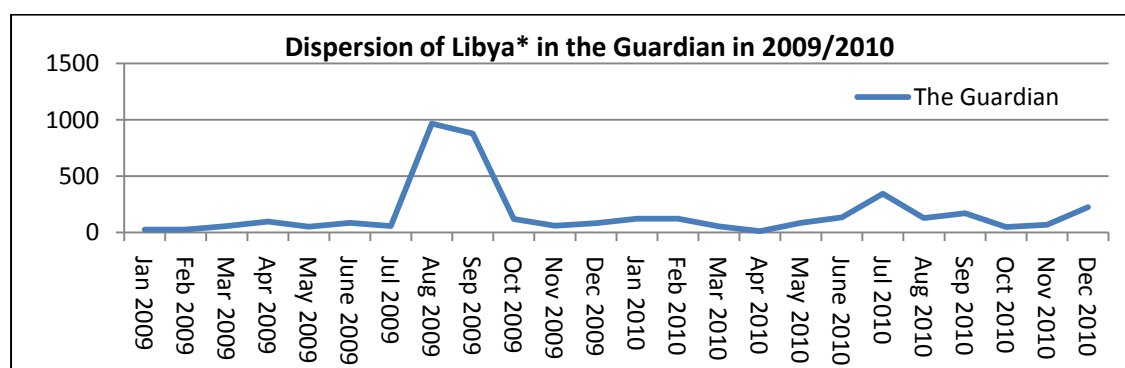


Figure 4.8: Dispersion of *Libya\** in the Guardian in 2009/2010

*Asharq Al-Awsat* had different and a greater amount of spikes than the ones found in the *Guardian*. In February 2009, Qaddafi was elected as a chairman of the African Union. In March 2009, an Arab League summit was held in Doha, Qatar. In August 2009, Megrahi was freed and returned to Libya. In March 2010, the Arab League 22<sup>nd</sup> Summit was held in Sirte, Libya. In July 2010, the BP confirmed it is about to begin drilling off Libyan coast,

and the US Senators pushed for inquiry to investigate whether the BP lobbied for Lockerbie bomber's release or not.

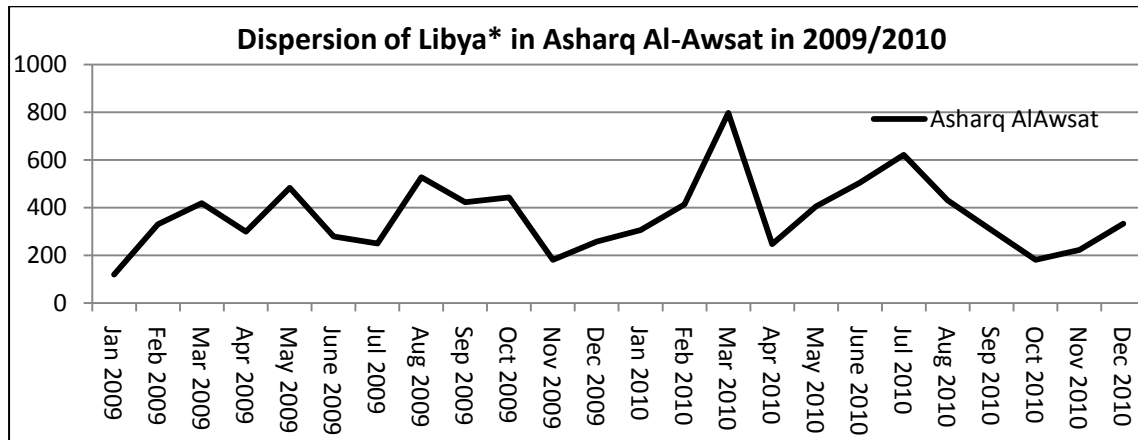


Figure 4.9: Dispersion of ليبيا\* in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2009/2010

#### 4.4.4.2. Dividing the data

As shown in figures 4.6 and 4.7, 2011 represents the main peak in the collected data. In order to answer the question of ‘how have discourses around *Qaddafi* changed from before and after the outbreak of the uprisings in Arab and Western Newspapers?, I divided the corpus data into three periods, namely: before, during, and after the uprisings. Period 1 (before the uprisings) spans from January 2009 to December 2010. Period 2 (during the uprisings and the immediate aftermath of the event) is from January 2011 to December 2011. Period 3 (after the uprisings) covers events from January 2012 to December 2013 as shown in table 4.12.

Table 4.12: The three investigated periods in this study

Period 1		Period 2	Period 3	
Pre-uprisings		Uprisings	Post-uprisings	
2009	2010	2011	2012	2013

### 4.5. Practical constraints in designing corpora for discourse studies

There are some core issues I took into account while designing and creating my corpora, namely representativeness, balance, and size. Representativeness is the relationship between

the corpus and the body of language it represents (Hunston, 2008). The more the corpus is representative, the more valid, reliable, and generalizable its results will be. In the current study, the corpora are built from different newspapers within a particular period (2009-2013) using some query terms related to *Libya* and *Qaddafi*. Consequently, the corpora are likely to be representative in the sense that they contain almost all the articles that meet the above mentioned conditions (query terms/ time span/ selected newspapers). One limitation for this is that the corpora will not have articles about some of the discursively connected matters that did not have the query terms, e.g. articles on Egypt or Saudi Arabia; however, as I discussed above including some other terms related to the general topic under investigation might distract the right direction of the research overarching objectives.

Balance is related to the proportions of the different sub-corpora that are contained in the main corpus (Hunston, 2008). The corpus is described as balanced if all of its sub-corpora are represented equally. In this thesis, and regarding the sub-corpora of the three investigated periods, there was a logical dramatic increase in the number of the articles and words after the outbreak of the events in all of the investigated newspapers, and so the numbers of articles and word count were the highest in 2011, the year when most of the uprisings in the Arab world began and ended. For example, in *the Guardian*, the number of articles in period 2 was 2407 (1596768 words), when compared to period 1 with 596 articles (400482 words), and period 3 with 1175 articles (894092 words) (figure 4.10).

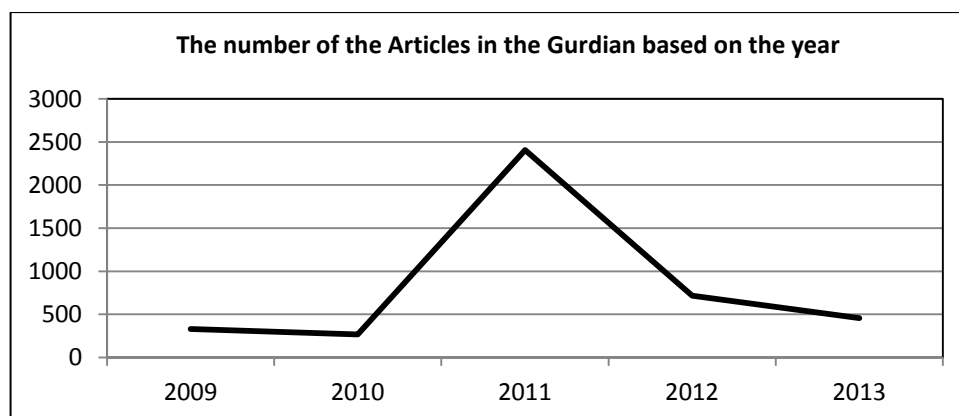


Figure 4.10: The increase in the articles' number in the Guardian during the uprisings 2011

In this thesis, balance is not given much attention as I did collect every single newspaper's articles that achieved the required conditions stated above. When looking at the sub-corpora from a different angle, i.e. each newspaper as a sub-corpus, this study could not control

having equal proportions for all newspapers (see figure 4.11 as an example). The reason behind this difference is related to the articles size in the investigated newspapers. For example, in the English corpus, *the NYT's* articles were relatively longer than those that were accessed from *the Guardian*. To solve this problem, I first considered extending the time span of *the Guardian*, but then decided not to do so as this affects one of the core objectives of the study and breaks one of the data collection conditions, i.e. time span between 2009 and 2013.

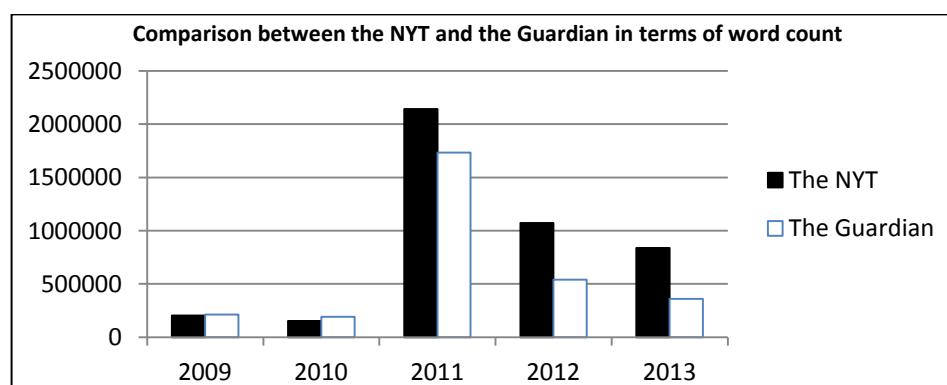


Figure 4.11: Word count comparison between the NYT and the Guardian

The issue of the corpus size was also considered. The matter of the corpus size is controversial although what counts as ‘large’ and ‘small’ has changed over time; i.e. what was considered to be large in the 1980s might be seen as small in the 2000s. In corpus linguistic discourse analysis studies, large and small corpora have advantages and disadvantages. Although small size corpora are normally considered as less representative, their analyses are usually more detailed and more interpretive than larger corpora (Bednarek, 2008). Using a small corpus, researchers can analyse all of the available incidents of a particular term in the corpus. However, the results may not have a high degree of validity, generalizability or reliability when compared to the findings of large corpora given that they depend only on a small amount of texts. The corpus to be used in this study is specialized as it only contains news articles about *Qaddafi* and *Libya* in a time span of 5 years. It is not too large, and not too small. This will enable me to have a representative data on the one hand, and give me the opportunity to analyze most of the incidents of a particular term on the other hand. The next section discusses the analytical software to be used in analysing the corpora.

## 4.6. Analytical software and settings

In this thesis, I mainly use Wordsmith 6.0 (WS6) (Scott, 2012). WS6 is a paid software package developed by Mike Scott which can be downloaded <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/downloads/>. At the beginning of this research, I carried out a pilot study of the speeches of the Syrian president Bashar Assad from 2000 to 2013 to check how the combination works on Arabic texts. In that study, I used Antconc 3.3.5w which is a freeware concordance program that can be downloaded from [http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc\\_index.html](http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html). However, it was not used in this research since it did not fully support right to left languages at that time, and therefore, there were some problems when creating concordance lines or clusters for Arabic.

Throughout the thesis, I used consistent software settings. When generating frequency lists, hyphens are used as word separators; for example *Al-Qaddafi* is treated as two words. The apostrophe is allowed within the word; for example, in English, the apostrophe in *Qaddafi's* is counted as separate words. When carrying out a cluster analysis, the cluster size is selected to be between 2 and 5 words, and the minimum frequency is set as 5. In collocation, the minimum frequency is set as 5 because the words which only come once or twice are less likely to be informative. A span of  $\pm 5$  words is selected (that is, five words on either side of the node word). The option of 'stop at sentence breaks' is also selected, and this means that the node word and its collocate should occur within the same sentence. Collocates are obtained using the Dice Coefficient as "it tends to favour medium frequency collocates which tend to be lexical nouns, adjectives and verbs" (Levon & Baker, 2016, p. 110). When carrying out a keyword analysis, the P value is set at  $\leq 0.00000000000001$  ( $10^{-12}$ ) as this contributes to limiting the number of keywords. Log-likelihood (LL) test is used to measure the keyword's significance.

## 4.7. Data analysis

### 4.7.1. Frequency analysis

I first approached the corpus by generating frequency lists for the three time periods in the four newspapers. I considered the most frequent 25 lexical words in the English corpus, and the most frequent 35 lexical words in its Arabic counterpart. Before reaching these numbers,



I first examined the most frequent 15 words in both newspapers, and found that most of these words occurred in the three time periods, and so do not tell us much about the foci of the newspapers and the differences between the time periods. After that, I took another 20 words, and found that the foci of the newspapers, and the differences between the time periods began to appear. Only the most frequent **25** words in English were selected because when I examined the other 10 words i.e. between 25 and 35, I found that either they occurred in the three time periods, or relate to one of the issues already included in the first 25 words. Regarding the Arabic corpus, I examined the most frequent **35** words, and there are a number of reasons for the 10 word difference between the English and Arabic corpora. First, the Arabic corpus is huge even when compared to its English counterpart. Second, unlike the English language, words in Arabic are declined based on the case, number, gender, and state, which led to the repetition of some words but in different forms, e.g. *Libyan* (definite, indefinite, masculine, feminine, accusative, nominative, and others). Third, the word count is different across languages; in English, prepositions, conjunctions, and pronouns are not attached to the words, but they are in Arabic. For example, in Arabic the verb *قال* 'he said' is a word and *وقال* and 'he said' is another word. Despite so, the focus in this study will be on the word forms rather than lemmas. In English, I could find different lemma lists; for example, the one created by Laurence Anthony based on all words in the BNC corpus. However, despite my lengthy investigation, I could not locate a full Arabic lemma list except for the holy Quran, and the complexity of the Arabic language inflections means that the creation of one from scratch is quite challenging, and perhaps needs a group of researchers. I did not use the lemmatized list of the Quran, simply because the language of the Holy Quran is considered to be classical Arabic, which differs from the modern standard Arabic in use today.

Function words were removed from the frequency lists using English and Arabic stop lists (lists with function words which are filtered out before processing natural language data). This is because the main interest of this study is to identify the aspects of semantic focus rather than grammatical patterns. The English stop-list is taken from Onix Text Retrieval Toolkit (<http://www.lextek.com/manuals/onix/stopwords1.html>), while the Arabic stop-list is retrieved from Ranks NL Webmaster Tools (<http://www.ranks.nl/stopwords/arabic>); however, after using it, I observed that some function words appeared in the Arabic wordlists when carrying out a frequency analysis for the two Arabic newspapers, and so the Arabic stop list was edited by manually adding some extra function words to it.

#### 4.7.1.1. Common words analysis

When examining the most frequent 25/35 words of each newspaper separately, I found that some words occurred in the three time periods, and so a more detailed textual and contextual investigation is needed for different aims. The first aim is to see why these words are among the most frequent terms in all periods. The second aim is to check whether there are any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* across the three time periods or not.

#### 4.7.1.2. Unique words analysis

Using the created English and Arabic wordlists that contain the most frequent 25/35 words, and after I examined the words that occurred in the three time periods for each newspaper, I examined the most frequent *unique* words in each period separately by looking at the words that only occur in particular period(s) rather than others. The aim behind this was to uncover the different news foci about *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the three periods.

#### 4.7.2. Keyword analysis

As noted above, keyness in this thesis is calculated internally, i.e. the two investigated English newspapers will be compared against each other, and the two Arabic newspapers will be compared against each other as well without using general corpora of English and Arabic. Keywords are calculated by carrying out statistical tests which indicate whether the keyword occurs due to chance or not. In the social sciences, a 5% ( $p < 0.05$ ) risk is usually considered acceptable (Scott, 1999). In order to produce a manageable total of keywords, Scott suggests specifying a much lower P value. In this thesis, the threshold for keyness was set at an extremely low p value ( $p \leq 0.00000000000001$ ) ( $10^{-12}$ ) to limit the number of keywords to be examined. This also means that the maximum probability that the keyness of a word was due to chance is one in a trillion.

In this research, I examined the most statistically significant 30 lexical keywords across the three periods in both corpora by carrying out concordance and collocation analyses. In the process, I did not give much attention to the keywords that occur across the three time periods. For example, *British*, *UK*, *pounds*, and *London* are keywords in the *Guardian*

across the three periods because the newspaper is published and located in the UK. The words *united*, *states*, *American*, and *administration* were keywords in the three periods in the *NYT* because it is located in the U.S. Some keywords are indicative of the style of the newspaper. For example, the word *Mr.* is a keyword in the *NYT* because the newspaper tends to put it before the names of males, while the *Guardian* tends not to mention titles before people's names in most cases. Some keywords are there due to the differences in spelling between British and American English, or to the way that the newspaper spells certain words. Some examples of the former are *center/centre*, *organization/organisation*, *program/ programme* and *defense/defence*, and some examples of the latter are *Qaeda/ Qaida*, *Misurata/ Misrata* and *Surt/Sirte*.

Similarly, in Arabic some of the keywords occurred across the three periods. For example, the words *الأميركية* and *الأميركي* (*American* and *American*) were keywords in both newspapers, simply because they were written differently in the two newspapers. *Asharq Al-Awsat* is influenced by the English pronunciation and spelling of the word and spelled it as *أميركا Amerca*, while *Al-Khaleej* followed the standard Arabic pronunciation and spelling of the word and spelled it as *أمريكا Amrica*. This was also applied to others words such as *أفريقيا* and *إفريقيا* (both means *Africa*). *Asharq Al-Awsat* tended to write the Hamza (glottal stop in Arabic [ʔ]) under the letter, while *Al-Khaleej* tended to write it over the letter. On some occasions, some keywords are repeated across the three periods because they refer to the name of the newspaper as in the case of *الشرق الأوسط Asharq Al-Awsat*, or the name of the country where the newspaper is located and published as reflected in the case of *الإمارات the UAE* in *Al-Khaleej*.

#### 4.7.3. The main investigated person (*Qaddafi*)

In this part of the analysis, the approach is more corpus-based, unlike the previous sections which were more corpus-driven, with the analysis being driven by the results of frequency and keyword analyses. This part of the analysis aims to explore how *Qaddafi* is diachronically represented in the corpus to check whether the Arab uprisings have represented a turning point in the stance of the newspapers towards the regime of *Qaddafi* or not. To do so, I mainly used collocation whereby *Qaddafi*'s collocates were divided using the CLAWS/Stanford taggers based on their parts of speech into five categories, namely

adjectives, verbs, singular nouns, plural nouns, and proper nouns before being further investigated using the concordance tool.

#### **4.8. A concluding statement**

In this thesis, to avoid confirmation bias which is the tendency of the analyst to only notice what confirms his hypothesis and beliefs, and ignore what contradicts them (Gabrielatos & Duguid, 2015), some justifications are made every time a decision is made of which words to further analyse and in which way. For example, the most frequent or statistically salient words will be given the priority to be further analyzed. If a particular theme dominated one of the created lists, the word that is more related to that theme is analyzed. If a particular theme dominated the frequency list of only one newspaper, the word that is related to that theme in other newspapers will be selected to be further analyzed even if other more frequent/salient words were present in those lists mainly to check the similarities/differences in the coverage of that topic in the investigated newspapers. Similarly, if a word/phrase appeared in one of the periods, and was not the most salient or frequent in another period, it would be analyzed to check the differences/ similarities in the use of the same word over time. Sometimes, the word is investigated because of its relevance to the investigated topic, and the main objectives of the thesis. On some occasions, if some countries were observed in the created lists, they would be investigated to see why they were frequent in the Libyan context.

Regarding the used corpus techniques and unlike most of the previous studies which focused on one technique, one of my aims in this thesis is to use different CL techniques, and see how they can uncover discourses about a particular phenomenon. If I want to carry out a thorough and detailed investigation for a particular term, I use collocation. However, if I want to quickly find common expressions or patterns of repeated phraseology in the investigated corpus, I use clusters. If I want to examine the most frequent collocates in a particular position (for example, verbs that were used immediately after or before the node word), I use patterns and look at words in L1 and R 1 positions.

In this thesis, different ways will be followed to select the concordance lines to be discussed, and included in the concordance figures. When the number of the concordance lines is small, all instances will be included in the concordance figure. Sometimes, the

number of the concordance lines for some terms are large (in thousands), and the process of going through all of them one by one is time consuming and daunting. Doing this is recommended since examining few cases does not give a full picture about the different discourse prosodies in the text. In addition to this, thinning concordance, in most cases, has not found to reveal new results where the common patterns are usually repeated, and the rare ones are missed (Baker, 2010). To partly get rid of this challenge, I will sort the results differently. This will make things easier as the alphabetical sorting puts together similar results, sometimes hundreds of lines, under each other. On some occasions, the suggestion of Hunston (2002) to examine the first 100 lines in general and about 30 lines in details, build some hypotheses based on them, and then take other 30 lines in order to verify or refute the hypotheses previously formed until reaching a point by which no discourse prosodies are revealed will be used. To make sure that the included lines in the concordance figures are representative, if different lines are related to a particular issue or mentioned in the same context, only one or two of them will be included in the concordance figure. By doing so, the results are likely to be more illustrative of wider trends.

This chapter summarizes the stages I followed in order to design and compile the corpora, and provides some information about the used CL analytical software. The chapter ends by showing the techniques to be used in the analysis of the three investigated periods (table 4.13).

Table 4.13: Methodological steps followed in this thesis

<b>Methodological steps followed in this thesis</b>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Frequency Analysis</u></b></p> <p>I approached the corpus by generating frequency lists (using the wordlist tool of WS6) for the three time periods in the four newspapers. I only examined the most frequent <b>25 lexical words</b> in the English corpus, and the most frequent <b>35 lexical words</b> in its Arabic counterpart. Function words were removed from the frequency lists using English and Arabic stop lists</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Common Words</u></b></p> <p>The words that occurred in the three time periods</p>	<p><b>Aim:</b> to check the similarities in the frequent 25/35 lexical words in the three time periods in English and Arabic newspapers</p>
<p><b>Q1:</b> Are there any constant/frequent discourses with <i>Qaddafi</i> in <i>The Guardian</i>, <i>The NYT</i>, <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>, and <i>Al-Khaleej</i> from 2009 to 2013?</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Unique words</u></b></p> <p>The words that occurred in particular period(s) rather than others</p>	<p><b>Aim:</b> to check the differences in the frequent 25/35 lexical words in the three periods in English and Arabic newspapers (unique news foci)</p>

<b>Q2:</b> What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to <i>Libya</i> and <i>Qaddafi</i> in the three time periods?	
<b>Keyword Analysis</b> Keyness in this thesis is calculated internally. I examined the most statistically significant 30 lexical keywords for each period. I did not give much attention to the keywords that occur across the three time periods.	
<b>Keyword Analysis</b>	Comparing the <i>NYT</i> and the <i>Guardian</i> against each other, and <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i> and <i>Al-Khaleej</i> against each other
<b>Q3:</b> What does a keyword analysis reveal about the most salient themes in <i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The NYT</i> on the one hand, and <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i> and <i>Al-Khaleej</i> on the other one in the three time periods in articles that contain at least one mention of either <i>Libya*</i> , <i>Qaddafi</i> , <i>Tripoli</i> , <i>Benghazi</i> , and <i>Sirt</i> ?	
<b>Collocation Analysis</b> I carried out a collocation analysis for <i>Qaddafi</i> and examined the most statistically 50 collocates. The collocates were divided using the CLAWS/Stanford taggers based on their parts of speech	
<b>The main investigated character: Qaddafi</b>	To analyze how <i>Qaddafi</i> is diachronically represented in the corpus, and check whether the Arab uprisings have represented a turning point on how he was represented
<b>Q4:</b> What does a collocation analysis of <i>Qaddafi</i> and other related terms reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published in the three time periods?	
<b>The representation of the Arab Spring</b> <b>Q5:</b> In what ways is the era of the Arab Spring defined and constructed in periods 2 (2011), and 3 (2012/2013) in Arabic and English newspapers' articles that contain at least one mention of either <i>Libya*</i> , <i>Qaddafi</i> , <i>Tripoli</i> , <i>Benghazi</i> , and <i>Sirt</i> ?	

## 5. CHAPTER FIVE

### Analysis

The analysis part of this thesis is divided into four main parts. It begins with the introduction which discusses the most frequent common words; i.e. the words that occurred in the three time periods when examining the frequency lists of these periods in each newspaper separately to check whether there are any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* across a time span of five years from 2009 to 2013 (section 5.1). After this, the three time periods, namely pre-uprisings (2009-2010), during-uprisings (2011), and post-uprisings (2012-2013) are analysed (section 5.2, chapter 6, and chapter 7 respectively). The analysis of these time periods consists of three parts. First is a frequency or unique words analysis to uncover the different themes or news foci in the three investigated periods. Second is a keyword analysis to identify the similarities and differences between the same-language pairs of newspapers. Third is a core term analysis to explore how *Qaddafi* is diachronically represented in the corpus, and to check whether the Arab uprisings represented a turning point in the newspapers' stance towards his regime. Each section ends with a summary, discussion, and interpretation of findings.

#### 5.1. Introduction

In order to answer the first research question; “Are there any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* in *The Guardian*, *The NYT*, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013?”, I generated frequency lists for the three time periods, namely: pre, during, and post uprisings in the four newspapers. The most frequent 25 lexical words in English were considered as shown in tables 5.1.1 and 5.1.2. In the Arabic corpora, I considered the most frequent 35 words, as discussed in chapter four, shown in tables 5.1.3 and 5.1.4.

Table 5.1.1: The top 25 lexical words in the Guardian

The Guardian								
2009/2010			2011			2012/2013		
Word	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	Word	Freq.	N. Freq.	Word	Freq.	N. Freq.
SAID	1,430	3,571	QADDAFI	6,953	4,354	SAID	3,744	4187.489
MEGRAHI	955	2,385	SAID	6,888	4,314	LIBYA	1,937	2166.444

<b>LIBYA</b>	932	2,327	<b>LIBYA</b>	5,731	3,589	SYRIA	1,752	1959.53
<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	767	1,915	<b>PEOPLE</b>	3,704	2,320	<b>PEOPLE</b>	1,639	1833.145
<b>WORLD</b>	630	1,573	LIBYAN	2,910	1,822	<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	1,585	1772.748
<b>PEOPLE</b>	629	1,571	<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	2,761	1,729	<b>NEW</b>	1,264	1413.725
<b>BRITISH</b>	585	1,461	REGIME	2,331	1,460	<b>WAR</b>	1,255	1403.659
<b>NEW</b>	583	1,456	FORCES	2,284	1,430	<b>WORLD</b>	1,181	1320.893
LIBYAN	575	1,436	MILITARY	2,274	1,424	MILITARY	1,165	1302.998
<b>QADDAFI</b>	565	1,411	<b>NEW</b>	2,176	1,363	SECURITY	1,138	1272.8
RELEASE	530	1,323	TRIPOLI	2,105	1,318	SYRIAN	1,044	1167.665
<b>YEARS</b>	529	1,321	<b>WORLD</b>	2,079	1,302	<b>QADDAFI</b>	1,024	1145.296
SCOTTISH	499	1,246	<b>WAR</b>	2,017	1,263	REGIME	1,019	1139.704
<b>TIME</b>	497	1,241	<b>COUNTRY</b>	1,982	1,241	<b>TIME</b>	1,009	1128.519
UK	465	1,161	NATO	1,918	1,201	<b>COUNTRY</b>	995	1112.861
BRITAIN	410	1,024	ARAB	1,780	1,115	<b>YEARS</b>	992	1109.506
INTERNATIONAL	384	959	<b>TIME</b>	1,741	1,090	YEAR	947	1059.175
<b>FOREIGN</b>	382	954	<b>FOREIGN</b>	1,737	1,088	<b>FOREIGN</b>	946	1058.057
MINISTER	377	941	<b>BRITISH</b>	1,693	1,060	<b>BRITISH</b>	937	1047.991
<b>WAR</b>	364	909	<b>LIKE</b>	1,664	1,042	INTERNATIONAL	917	1025.622
DECISION	353	881	UK	1,648	1,032	OBAMA	903	1009.963
<b>COUNTRY</b>	352	879	REBELS	1,611	1,009	PRESIDENT	894	999.8971
<b>LIKE</b>	349	871	BRITAIN	1,580	989	ARAB	830	928.3161
POUNDS	341	851	YESTERDAY	1,565	980	ASSAD	820	917.1316
LOCKERBIE	340	849	<b>YEARS</b>	1,535	961	<b>LIKE</b>	806	901.4732

Table 5.1.2: The top 25 lexical words in the NYT

The NYT								
2009/2010			2011			2012/2013		
Word	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	Word	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	Word	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
<b>SAID</b>	2,371	6,633	<b>SAID</b>	17,051	7,840	<b>MR</b>	14,272	7427.990596
<b>MR</b>	1,981	5,542	<b>MR</b>	10,989	5,053	<b>SAID</b>	13,396	6972.068528
<b>NEW</b>	909	2,543	<b>LIBYA</b>	7,719	3,549	OBAMA	4,835	2516.41918
<b>UNITED</b>	862	2,412	QADDAFI	6,681	3,072	<b>PRESIDENT</b>	4,375	2277.008048
<b>LIBYA</b>	825	2,308	<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	5,660	2,602	<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	4,193	2182.284513
<b>GOVERNMENT</b>	746	2,087	<b>PEOPLE</b>	4,518	2,077	SYRIA	4,091	2129.197697
<b>STATES</b>	684	1,914	<b>UNITED</b>	4,360	2,005	<b>UNITED</b>	4,039	2102.13383
<b>PRESIDENT</b>	541	1,514	<b>NEW</b>	4,148	1,907	<b>LIBYA</b>	3,634	1891.347942
AMERICAN	538	1,505	COLONEL	3,910	1,798	<b>NEW</b>	3,449	1795.06303
<b>PEOPLE</b>	525	1,469	LIBYAN	3,892	1,789	<b>STATES</b>	3,335	1735.730706
NUCLEAR	515	1,441	MILITARY	3,824	1,758	<b>PEOPLE</b>	3,151	1639.966253
WORLD	510	1,427	<b>PRESIDENT</b>	3,701	1,702	SECURITY	3,107	1617.066058
<b>LIKE</b>	508	1,421	<b>STATES</b>	3,407	1,566	MILITARY	3,001	1561.897406
YEARS	499	1,396	FORCES	3,400	1,563	AMERICAN	2,980	1550.967767
<b>OFFICIALS</b>	471	1,318	REBELS	3,205	1,474	<b>LIKE</b>	2,522	1312.597554
OIL	450	1,259	OBAMA	3,160	1,453	STATE	2,446	1273.042671
LIBYAN	422	1,181	<b>COUNTRY</b>	3,143	1,445	<b>OFFICIALS</b>	2,436	1267.838081
Megrahi	415	1,161	<b>LIKE</b>	2,840	1,306	WORLD	2,306	1200.178413



OBAMA	406	1,136	WORLD	2,724	1,252	COUNTRY	2,303	1198.617036
COUNTRY	405	1,133	OIL	2,704	1,243	WAR	2,264	1178.319136
ISRAEL	399	1,116	NATO	2,673	1,229	POLITICAL	2,262	1177.278218
INTERNATIONAL	391	1,094	OFFICIALS	2,524	1,160	SYRIAN	2,262	1177.278218
STATE	388	1,085	SECURITY	2,522	1,160	ATTACK	2,220	1155.418941
COUNTRIES	386	1,080	ARAB	2,506	1,152	TIME	2,176	1132.518746
IRAN	373	1,044	TRIPOLI	2,419	1,112	FOREIGN	1,944	1011.772262

Table 5.1.3: The top 35 lexical words in Al-Khaleej

Al-Khaleej								
Period 1 (2009/2010)			Period 2 (2011)			Period 3 (2013/2013)		
word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
العربية Arab	5976	3452.47731	ليبيا Libya	12575	2389.31351	ليبيا Libya	6490	1235.37466
رئيس president of	3807	2199.39443	القذافي Qaddafi	11626	2208.99872	العام General /Year	5260	1001.24356
وقال And he Said	3766	2175.70775	وقال And he Said	9725	1847.79911	رئيس president of	5178	985.63482
العام general (year)	3376	1950.39548	الليبي Libyan	5622	1068.20839	وقال and he Said	5013	954.22699
محمد Mohammed	3190	1842.93886	العربية Arab	4700	893.023737	العربية Arab	4758	905.687615
العربي Arab	3159	1825.02942	الليبية Libyan	4618	877.443322	الإمارات Emirates	4074	775.487883
ليبيا Libya	2894	1671.93262	المتحدة United	4505	855.972752	المتحدة United	3658	696.30208
الإمارات Emirates	2835	1637.84692	المجلس The council	4200	798.021211	محمد Mohammed	3620	689.068762
الاتحاد Union	2711	1566.20917	وأضاف He added	4194	796.881181	الليبي Libyan	3572	679.931938
الدول countries	2569	1484.17239	رئيس President of	4014	762.680272	العربي Arab	3471	660.706539
العالم The world	2339	1351.29592	الخارجية Foreign	3598	683.638171	الليبية Libyan	3465	659.564436
المتحدة United	2311	1335.11966	طرابلس Tripoli	3522	669.197787	الدولة country	3455	657.660931
الرئيس President	2240	1294.10127	الثوار Rebels	3493	663.687641	دولار Dollar	3124	594.65492
الليبي Libyan	2142	1237.48434	قوات Troop	3418	649.437262	الدول countries	2979	567.0541
الدولة the country	2094	1209.7536	العام General/Year	3359	638.226964	مجلس council	2813	535.455919
مجلس council	2053	1186.06692	النفط Oil	3280	623.216565	مصر Egypt	2749	523.273488
دولار Dollar	1849	1068.21127	الدول countries	3143	597.185873	سوريا Syria	2708	515.469118
الشيخ Sheikh	1762	1017.9493	دولار Dollar	3123	593.385772	الوطني National	2701	514.136664
دولة country	1675	967.687331	الرئيس President	2962	562.794959	دبي Dubai	2684	510.900706
مصر Egypt	1672	965.95416	معمر Muammar	2897	550.444631	الحكومة Government	2655	505.380542
البطولة Championship	1610	930.135286	مجلس council	2864	544.174464	العالم The world	2652	504.809491
دبي Dubai	1610	930.135286	الانتقالي Transition	2861	543.604449	الخارجية Foreign	2579	490.913905

الخارجية Foreign	1578	911.648125	العربي Arab	2778	527.83403	الرئيس President	2483	472.640258
الفريق team	1567	905.293163	المعارضة Opposition	2745	521.563863	الماضي last	2401	457.031518
القذافي Qaddafi	1550	895.471859	النظام Regime	2695	512.063611	المجلس The council	2344	446.181541
الدولية International	1529	883.339659	الوطني National	2626	498.953262	المنطقة region	2334	444.278036
قال He said	1491	861.386156	وزير Minister	2589	491.923075	دولة country	2247	427.717543
العرب Arabs	1486	858.497537	الدولي International	2573	488.882995	الشيخ Sheikh	2198	418.39037
الليبية Libyan	1475	852.142575	الدولية International	2566	487.552959	الأمن security	2178	414.58336
الدولي International	1445	834.810862	الشعب People	2535	481.662803	الأمريكية American	2161	411.347402
مليون Million	1379	796.681092	الأمن security	2525	479.762752	الدولي International	2144	408.111443
النفط oil	1364	788.015236	مصر Egypt	2464	468.172444	وأضاف He added	2132	405.827238
القمة Summit	1353	781.660274	الإمارات Emirates	2335	443.661793	النفط oil	2129	405.256186
وزير Minister	1341	774.727589	محمد Mohammed	2317	440.241702	القذافي Qaddafi	2106	400.878125
وأضاف He added	1335	771.261246	الحكومة Government	2275	432.26149	وزير Minister	2073	394.596559

Table 5.1.4: The top 35 lexical words in Asharq Al-Awsat

Asharq Al-Awsat								
Period 1 (2009/2010)			Period 2 (2011)			Period 3 (2012/2013)		
word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	word translation	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
العربية Arab	3820	3690.61444	القذافي Qaddafi	21238	6532.3613	ليبيا Libya	9237	3309.42773
ليبيا Libya	3294	3182.43036	ليبيا Libya	16638	5117.49823	سوريا Syria	6542	2343.86448
القذافي Qaddafi	2797	2702.26403	وقال And he said	8887	2733.45395	وقال And he said	5655	2026.07057
وقال And he said	2784	2689.70435	الليبي Libyan	8807	2708.84763	القذافي Qaddafi	5007	1793.90545
الرئيس The President	2396	2314.84612	الليبية Libyan	6847	2105.99293	الرئيس President	4899	1755.21126
الشرق East	1892	1827.91689	العربية Arab	6608	2032.48157	النظام regime	4828	1729.77342
الليبي Libyan	1871	1807.62817	النظام regime	6160	1894.6862	رئيس president of	4732	1695.37859
الليبية Libyan	1868	1804.72978	الثوار Rebels	5929	1823.63547	الحكومة Government	4651	1666.35795
الأوسط Middle	1842	1779.61042	المجلس The council	5921	1821.17484	المتحدة United	4534	1624.43925
عبد Abdul	1801	1739.99911	الشرق East	5278	1623.40159	العربية Arab	4364	1563.53173
الدول The countries	1761	1701.35393	طرابلس Tripoli	5184	1594.48917	الليبي Libyan	4295	1538.81045
العربي Arab	1698	1640.48778	المتحدة United	5091	1565.88433	السوري Syrian	4283	1534.51109
رئيس president of	1660	1603.77486	الأوسط Middle	4918	1512.67317	الليبية Libyan	4273	1530.9283
الحكومة Government	1588	1534.21354	الرئيس The President	4872	1498.52454	مصر Egypt	3950	1415.20402

القمة Summit	1578	1524.55225	سوريا Syria	4657	1432.39507	العربي Arab	3944	1413.05434
العام General (Year)	1560	1507.16192	عبد Abdul	4654	1431.47234	الشرق East	3922	1405.17219
المتحدة United	1529	1477.21191	قال Said	4480	1377.9536	الأسد Assad	3861	1383.31715
الخارجية Foreign	1386	1339.0554	الشعب People	4355	1339.50624	الأوسط Middle	3782	1355.01306
الله Allah	1343	1297.51183	مصر Egypt	4228	1300.44371	عبد Abdul	3688	1321.33479
قال He said	1338	1292.68118	السوري Syrian	4085	1256.45993	الأمن security	3619	1296.61351
الماضي last	1279	1235.67955	الانتقالي Transitional	4035	1241.08098	الوطني National	3458	1238.93051
السودان Sudan	1229	1187.37307	رئيس President of	4028	1238.92793	الأميركية US	3437	1231.40664
وأضاف And he added	1198	1157.42306	الخارجية Foreign	3963	1218.9353	الخارجية Foreign	3402	1218.86686
الاتحاد Union	1150	1111.04885	الثورة Revolution	3943	1212.78372	قال Said	3260	1167.99117
مصر Egypt	1119	1081.09884	قوات Forces	3896	1198.32751	السورية Syrian	3134	1122.84795
مجلس council	1099	1061.77625	نظام regime	3885	1194.94414	المؤتمر Conference	3041	1089.52796
وزير Minister	1085	1048.25044	الدول countries	3838	1180.48793	الدول countries	3039	1088.8114
العالم The world	1074	1037.62301	الحكومة Government	3749	1153.11341	نظام regime	2882	1032.56152
السلام Peace	1071	1034.72462	الأمن security	3668	1128.19951	الجيش Army	2849	1020.73829
الأمن Security	1013	978.689117	الوطني National	3649	1122.35551	العالم The world	2833	1015.00582
العرب Arabs	988	954.535881	العربي Arab	3596	1106.05383	الثورة Revolution	2769	992.075932
دارفور Darfur	980	946.806846	مجلس council	3548	1091.29004	الدولة The country	2727	977.028193
الدولية International	977	943.908457	العقيد Colonel	3431	1055.30331	طرابلس Tripoli	2638	945.141318
طرابلس Tripoli	972	939.07781	العالم The world	3308	1017.4711	مجلس council	2622	939.408846
إسرائيل Israel	961	928.450386	معمر Muammar	3215	988.866258	السابق Former	2595	929.7353

Tables (5.1.1-5.1.4) show the most frequent words in the four newspapers based on the investigated period. The three columns in each period include information about the word, its raw frequency (how many times it occurs in the corpus), and its normalized frequency (its occurrences per million words). The words that appear in the three time periods are bolded in these tables, and then discussed and categorized in section 5.1.1.

### 5.1.1. The similarities in the frequent lexical words in the three periods

Examining the most frequent 25/35 words in the three time periods, some words, shown in bold in tables 5.1.1 - 5.1.4, occurred in each of the three sub-corpora; therefore, a more

detailed investigation is needed to see why these words were among the most frequent in all periods. This is also to check whether there are any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* across the three time periods. Table 5.1.5 summarizes these common words in each newspaper separately.

Table 5.1.5: Common words across the three periods in the four investigated newspapers

Newspaper	Common words across periods
<b>The Guardian</b>	Said, Libya, government, world, people, British, new, Qaddafi, years, time, foreign, war, country, like
<b>The NYT</b>	Said, Mr., new, united, Libya, government, states, president, people, like, officials, country
<b>Al-Khaleej</b>	العربية، رئيس، وقال، العام، محمد، العربي، ليبيا، الامارات، الدول، المتحدة، الرئيس، الليبي، الليبية، مجلس، دولار، مصر، الخارجية، القذافي، الدولية، قال، الدولي، النفط، وزير، و اضاف Arab, president of, and he said, General (year), Mohammed, Arab, Libya, Emirates, the countries, united, the president, the Libyan (masculine/ feminine), Council, dollar, Egypt, Foreign, Qaddafi, International, oil, he said, International, minister, and he added
<b>Asharq Al-Awsat</b>	العربية، ليبيا، القذافي، وقال، الرئيس، الشرق، الليبي، الليبية، الاوسط، عبد، الدول، العربي، رئيس، الحكومة، المتحدة، الخارجية، قال، مصر، الامن Arab, Libya, Qaddafi, and he said, the president, Asharq (East), the Libyan (masculine/ feminine), Al-Awsat (Middle), Abdul, the countries, Arab, president of, the government, united, foreign, he said, Egypt, security

Some common words in table 5.1.5 occurred in the four newspapers; for example, *Libya* and *Qaddafi* were two of the query terms I used to compile the corpus as chapter 4 shows, which made them to be frequent in the whole corpus. Some of the common words reflect the names of the newspapers (*Asharq* (East) and *Al-Awsat* (Middle) in *Asharq Al-Awsat*), the countries where they are located and published (*British* in the *Guardian*, *United States* in the *NYT*, and *الامارات العربية المتحدة* *United Arab Emirates* in *Al-Khaleej*), their style (*Mr.* in the *NYT*), interests (*oil* *النفط* in *Al-Khaleej*), and journalism related words (*said*, and *وقال* and *he said* in the four newspapers). The frequent use of the words *British* and *الامارات* *the UAE* in the *Guardian* and *Al-Khaleej* respectively suggests these newspapers' interests in showing how some issues might affect these countries and how Britain and the UAE deal with the national and international (critical) matters. The words *united*, *government*, *states*, *American*, and *officials* were predominantly used in the *NYT* showing how the US officials see and react to different events all over the world. The words *Al-Awsat* (Middle) and *Asharq* (East) occurred frequently across the periods in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight its exclusive news; some clusters such as *قال للشرق الاوسط* *told*

*Asharq Al-Awsat*” or *في مقابلة مع الشرق الاوسط* “*in an interview with Asharq Al-Awsat*” are mentioned frequently.

The verb *said* is frequently used in the four newspapers across the three time periods because it is considered as a neutral reporting verb that connects the words to their speakers. Moore (2000) argues that news is much more about people’s sayings than deeds being talk about talk. Zelizer (1989) points out that the journalists who use quotes lend authority to the story. Moreover, reported speech, particularly direct speech, is a way of ensuring faithfulness to a previously uttered speech (Bell, 1991).

For the word/phrase to appear in the three investigated periods does not necessarily indicate that it was used similarly in these periods. The word ***government*** in the *Guardian* was usually used in the context of the United Kingdom as the frequent clusters *British government*, and *Labour governments* show. Also, it co-occurred with various nationalities such as Scotland, Libya, the U.S, Israel, China, Egypt, France, and Germany in period one; Libya, Syria, and Scotland in period two, and Libya, Syria, the U.S, Algeria, and Scotland in period three as shown in the cluster analysis in table 5.1.6.

Table 5.1.6: Cluster analysis for the word *government* in the Guardian

<b>The Guardian (<i>Government</i>)</b>		
<b>2009/2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012/2013</b>
Scottish government	Libyan government	British government
British government	British government	Libyan government
Libyan government	interim government	Syrian government
UK government	UK government	UK government
US government	Syrian government	new government
Israeli government	transitional government	US government
American government	Qaddafi’s government	coalition government
Chinese government	coalition government	transitional government
Egyptian government	US government	Algerian government
French government	rebel government	unity government
German government	Scottish government	Scottish government

The *Scottish government*, for example, was repeated in the three time periods mainly in the context of Megrahi, the prime suspect in the Lockerbie bombing to discuss the decision of his release, sending him back to Libya, and his death there. Some clusters such as the *interim government*, *transitional government*, *coalition government*, and *rebel government*

began to appear on the surface in 2011 after the outbreak of the uprisings in the Arab region, and this suggests that a change in the status quo occurred somewhere. In the third period, similar clusters to the ones observed in period 2 were found, in addition to some other clusters that suggest the establishment of *new/unity* governments. The *Syrian government* ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> as most of the main Arab protests have overthrown the presidents by that time except in Syria where civil war is still going on.

The word **Mr** was mentioned frequently in the *NYT* as the newspaper uses it as a title term for male speakers regardless their positions as table 5.1.7 shows.

Table 5.1.7: Cluster analysis for the word *Mr.* in the *NYT*

The NYT ( <i>Mr.</i> )					
2009/2010		2011		2012/2013	
324	Mr. Megrahi	1441	Mr. Obama	2495	Mr. Obama
127	Mr. Obama	369	Mr. Assad	911	Mr. Assad
75	Mr. Khan	296	Mr. Gates	823	Mr. Romney
40	Mr. Brown	287	Mr. Sarkozy	328	Mr. Kerry
34	Mr. Burroughs	259	Mr. Mubarak	255	Mr. Putin
34	Mr. Macaskill	234	Mr. Qaddafi	232	Mr. Stevens
33	Mr. Netanyahu	228	Mr. Saleh	221	Mr. Mandela
29	Mr. Bashir	216	Mr. Putin	197	Mr. Petraeus
27	Mr. Assayas	166	Mr. Cameron	172	Mr. Hagel
27	Mr. Qaddafi	155	Mr. Erdogan	172	Mr. Ryan
24	Mr. Damache	136	Mr. Cain	169	Mr. Hollande
22	Mr. Taylor	112	Mr. Panetta	159	Mr. Sarkozy
21	Mr. Berlusconi	95	Mr. Ibrahim	147	Mr. Morsi
21	Mr. Chavez	95	Mr. Medvedev	135	Mr. Cameron

Based on the corpus analysis, it was rare in the *NYT* to observe names of people without preceding them with titles such as *Mr*, *Mrs*, *president*, *colonel*, *prime minister* and others. Table 5.1.7 contains the names of some people who were considered prominent in the investigated period (2009-2013) in the Libyan-US context. Megrahi, the prime suspect in the Lockerbie bombing was the most frequent person in period 1. Some other names which are related to the same case were also frequently mentioned such as *Brown*, Britain's former PM, and *MacAskill*, Scotland's Justice Secretary. In 2011, the names of some Arab presidents whose countries were mainly involved in the protests were mentioned, such as *Assad*, *Mubarak*, *Qaddafi*, and *Saleh*. *Qaddafi* ranked 6<sup>th</sup> in period 2 though he was one of the query terms because he was referred to, in the majority of cases, as Colonel Qaddafi. In

period 3, *Obama* and his republican rival in the US presidential election, *Romeny*, were mentioned frequently. The president *Assad* of Syria, and *Mohammed Morsi*, the first elected president in Egypt after the 2011 uprisings, were the most frequent Arabs in period 3.

In order to get a general idea about the representation of *Qaddafi* in the four newspapers, and check whether there are any constant discourses with him in the three periods, I carried out a cluster analysis for the common word *Qaddafi* in the four newspapers as tables 5.1.8 and 5.1.9 show. In the next three main analysis parts, a collocation analysis for *Qaddafi* is carried out to discuss in details how he was represented in the three time periods.

Table 5.1.8: Cluster analysis for *Qaddafi* in the two English newspapers

Cluster Analysis for <i>Qaddafi</i>		
Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
<b>The Guardian</b>		
Colonel Qaddafi	Qaddafi's Forces	Qaddafi Regime
Leader Muammar Qaddafi	Qaddafi Regime	Colonel Qaddafi
Libyan Leader Qaddafi	Colonel Qaddafi	Saif Al Islam Qaddafi
Qaddafi's son	Pro Qaddafi	Pro Qaddafi
Qaddafi Stadium	Qaddafi Forces	Qaddafi Era
<b>The NYT</b>		
Colonel Qaddafi	Colonel Qaddafi	Colonel Qaddafi
Qaddafi The Libyan Leader	Qaddafi Forces	Qaddafi Government
Seif Al Islam El Qaddafi	Qaddafi Government	Uprising Against Colonel Qaddafi
Qaddafi Said	Qaddafi's Forces	Qaddafi Loyalists
Qaddafi's Son	Pro Qaddafi	Qaddafi Era
Qaddafi would	Anti Qaddafi	Fall of Col Qaddafi

The cluster analysis of *Qaddafi* in the two English newspapers (table 5.1.8) shows that the discourse of war began to appear in period 2 (2011) as the words *forces*, *pro-* and *anti-* suggest. Such discourse is not observed in period 1 (2009/2010) where *Qaddafi* seems to be reported and represented as any other world leader. Unlike period 1, the word *regime* which has negative discourse prosody being suggestive of illegitimate governments began to appear in period 2, and so negative representation of Qaddafi is expected. In period 3 (2012/2013), both war and post-war discourses are observed as some words like *era*, and *fall* suggest. The clusters *Qaddafi's era*, *Qaddafi loyalists*, and *Saif Qaddafi* are mentioned in this period perhaps to discuss their fate in the new Libyan state, and highlight their role in the atrocities that the toppled regime committed.

In common with the English newspapers, table 5.1.9 shows ‘normal’ reporting of *Qaddafi* in period 1 in the Arabic corpus.

Table 5.1.9: Cluster analysis for *القذافي Qaddafi* in the two Arabic newspapers

Cluster Analysis for <i>Qaddafi</i>		
Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
Asharq Al-Awsat		
العقيد معمر القذافي Colonel Muammar Qaddafi	نظام القذافي Qaddafi regime	الراحل معمر القذافي The late Muammar Qaddafi
الزعيم الليبي العقيد معمر القذافي Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qaddafi	قوات القذافي Qaddafi forces	نظام القذافي Qaddafi regime
نجل القذافي Qaddafi's son	كتائب القذافي Qaddafi Brigades	نجل القذافي Qaddafi's son
مؤسسة القذافي للتنمية Qaddafi International Charity and Development Foundation	سيف الإسلام القذافي Saif al-Islam Qaddafi	حكم القذافي Qaddafi's rule
سيف الإسلام القذافي Saif al-Islam Qaddafi	نجل القذافي Qaddafi's son	سقوط نظام القذافي The fall of the Qaddafi regime
وقال القذافي Qaddafi said	ضد القذافي Against Qaddafi	عائلة القذافي Qaddafi family
هاننبال القذافي Hannibal Qaddafi	حكم القذافي Qaddafi's rule	عهد القذافي Qaddafi era
Al-Khaleej		
الزعيم الليبي معمر القذافي Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi	قوات القذافي Qaddafi forces	الراحل معمر القذافي The late Muammar Qaddafi
نجل الزعيم الليبي معمر القذافي The son of Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi	نظام العقيد معمر القذافي The regime of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi	نظام القذافي Qaddafi regime
مؤسسة القذافي Qaddafi Foundation	قوات العقيد معمر القذافي The forces of Colonel Muammar	العقيد الراحل معمر القذافي The late Colonel Muammar Qaddafi
سيف الإسلام القذافي Saif al-Islam Qaddafi	كتائب القذافي Qaddafi Brigades	سيف الإسلام القذافي Saif al-Islam Qaddafi
وقال القذافي Qaddafi said	ضد القذافي Against Qaddafi	عهد القذافي Qaddafi era
نجل القذافي Qaddafi's son	بعد القذافي After Qaddafi	نظام العقيد الراحل The regime of the late Colonel
القذافي قائد الثورة الليبية Qaddafi, the Leader of the Libyan Revolution	حكم القذافي Qaddafi's rule	ضد القذافي Against Qaddafi
القذافي يدعو Qaddafi calls	ضد نظام القذافي Against the Qaddafi regime	سقوط نظام القذافي The fall of the Qaddafi regime
دعا القذافي Qaddafi called	رحيل القذافي Qaddafi's departure	حكم القذافي Qaddafi's rule



In period 1, the newspapers covered the role of مؤسسة القذافي *the Qaddafi's Foundation* in the process of development and helping not only Libyans, but also some others around the world. They highlighted the political activities that *Qaddafi* was involved in as the verbs قال *said*, يدعو *calls*, and دعا *called* show, and described him as قائد الثورة الليبية *the leader of the Libyan revolution* in reference to the 1969 coup against King Idris. Taking this period as a baseline that the other periods are measured against, it can be observed that the discourses of war, conflict, and turmoil began to emerge in period 2 as the words/phrases كتائب *brigades*, قوات *forces*, رحيل *departure*, and ضد نظام القذافي *against the regime* suggest. As in the English newspapers, the word نظام *regime* was used with *Qaddafi*. Consulting the Arabic/Arabic dictionary *Al-Mo'gam Al-Waseet*, and arTenTen, a web-crawled corpus of Arabic, I found that the word is used sometimes in the sense of a negative sign of military rule or government that lacks legitimacy. This suggests that the rule of *Qaddafi* turns to be illegitimate. Some clusters that appeared in period 2 such as قوات القذافي *Qaddafi forces* and كتائب القذافي *Qaddafi brigades* are not present in period 3 as if there is a shift from the discourse of war to the discourse of post-war with some focus on how to deal with the residues of *Qaddafi* regime, and his family especially sons. In period 3, there appears to be a kind of review of the *Qaddafi's* era, i.e. a retrospect of the events of the past 42 years.

The cluster analysis of *Qaddafi* in both English and Arabic newspapers showed that the cluster of *Qaddafi regime* was not found in period 1, and only began to appear in period 2. To check with which countries the word *regime* was used in the two corpora, I carried out a cluster analysis with a minimum frequency of 5 for **regime** in the four newspapers (tables 5.1.10 and 5.1.11). I only considered the clusters that contain names of countries or people.

Table 5.1.10: Cluster analysis for *regime* in the two English newspapers

Cluster Analysis for <i>regime</i>								
Cluster		Freq.	Cluster		Freq.	Cluster		Freq.
Period 1			Period 2			Period 3		
The Guardian								
The Libyan Regime		6	Qaddafi Regime		292	Assad Regime		104
			Qaddafi's Regime		101	Syrian Regime		71
			Libyan Regime		90	Qaddafi Regime		60
			Assad Regime		48	Assad's Regime		31
			Syrian Regime		45	Qaddafi's Regime		26

The NYT					
		Qaddafi Regime	113	Assad Regime	101
		Assad Regime	35	Syrian Regime	58
		Syrian Regime	34	Qaddafi Regime	20
		Libyan Regime	25	Assad's Regime	15
		Qaddafi's Regime	24	The Iranian Regime	14

In the English corpus, table 5.1.10 shows that no clusters appeared in the *NYT*'s list in period 1, while the *Libyan regime* was mentioned only 6 times in the *Guardian*. However, some clusters related to Libya and Syria, and Qaddafi and Assad began to appear in period 2, and continued to appear in period 3. This suggests that different discourses are employed in periods 2 and 3 in contrast with period 1. The clusters in period 3 also suggest that the focus moved from Libya towards Syria due to the ongoing civil war there.

In the Arabic corpus, since nouns in the Arabic language are declined according to state (indefinite, definite or construct), I created a cluster analysis for the definite and indefinite forms of the word *regime* (table 5.1.11/ translation 5.1.12).

Table 5.1.11: Cluster analysis for *النظام/نظام (the) regime* in the two Arabic newspapers

Cluster Analysis for النظامregime					
Cluster	F.	Cluster	F.	Cluster	F.
Period 1		Period 2		Period 3	
Asharq Al-Awsat					
نظام البشير	7	نظام القذافي	1459	نظام القذافي	595
نظام صدام	6	نظام العقيد	336	نظام الأسد	462
		نظام الأسد	302	نظام العقيد	291
		نظام بشار	90	نظام بشار	176
		نظام معمر القذافي	74	نظام معمر القذافي	69
		نظام مبارك	67	نظام الرئيس السوري	55
Al-Khaleej					
نظام صدام حسين	9	نظام القذافي	585	نظام القذافي	202
نظام ولد الطابع	6	نظام العقيد	280	نظام العقيد	108
النظام الجنرال عزيز	5	نظام معمر القذافي	93	نظام الأسد	66
		نظام الزعيم الليبي	37	نظام مبارك	29
		نظام صالح	27	نظام صالح	17
		نظام الأسد	25	نظام الرئيس بشار	16
		نظام مبارك	23	نظام الإخوان	12
Cluster Analysis for النظامthe regime					
Asharq Al-Awsat					
النظام الليبي	37	النظام السوري	1027	النظام السوري	930
النظام السوري	5	النظام الليبي	536	النظام الليبي	104

		النظام الإيراني	81	النظام الاسدي	75
		النظام المصري	51	النظام الإيراني	52
<b>Al-Khaleej</b>					
النظام السوري	12	النظام الليبي	342	النظام السوري	252
في النظام الأميري	8	النظام السوري	140	النظام الليبي	56
النظام العراقي	6	النظام المصري	29	النظام الإيراني	11
النظام الليبي	6				

Table 5.1.12: Translation of table 5.1.11

Cluster Analysis for <i>نظام regime</i>					
Cluster	F.	Cluster	F.	Cluster	F.
Period 1		Period 2		Period 3	
Asharq Al-Awsat					
Al-Bashir's Regime	7	Qaddafi Regime	1459	Qaddafi Regime	595
Saddam's Regime	6	Colonel Regime	336	Assad's Regime	462
		Assad's Regime	302	Colonel Regime	291
		Bashar's Regime	90	Bashar's Regime	176
		Muammar Qaddafi's Regime	74	Muammar Qaddafi's Regime	69
		Mubarak's Regime	67	Syrian president Regime	55
Al-Khaleej					
Saddam Hussein's Regime	9	Qaddafi Regime	585	Qaddafi Regime	202
Taya Regime	6	Colonel Regime	280	Colonel Regime	108
General Aziz Regime	5	Muammar Qaddafi's Regime	93	Assad's Regime	66
		Libyan leader Regime	37	Mubarak's Regime	29
		Saleh's Regime	27	Saleh's Regime	17
		Assad's Regime	25	President Bashar Regime	16
		Mubarak's Regime	23	Brotherhood Regime	12
Cluster Analysis for <i>النظام the regime</i>					
Asharq Al-Awsat					
The Libyan Regime	37	The Syrian Regime	1027	The Syrian Regime	930
The Syrian Regime	5	The Libyan Regime	536	The Libyan Regime	104
		The Iranian Regime	81	The Assadean Regime	75
		The Egyptian Regime	51	The Iranian Regime	52
Al-Khaleej					
The Syrian Regime	12	The Libyan Regime	342	The Syrian Regime	252
The American Regime	8	The Syrian Regime	140	The Libyan Regime	56
The Iraqi Regime	6	The Egyptian Regime	29	The Iranian Regime	11
The Libyan Regime	6				

Table 5.1.11 (translation 5.1.12) shows that, in period one, the regime of the late Iraqi president Saddam Hussein was referred to in both newspapers. In this period, the regime of Al-Bashir in Sudan was only found in *Asharq Al-Awsat* because he was accused of organising war crimes against humanity in Darfur in South Sudan, while the regime in

Mauritania that came after a coup d'etat was only mentioned in *Al-Khaleej*. In period 2 and unlike the pre-uprisings period, the use of the word *regime* was frequent with Qaddafi, and less frequent with Assad of Syria, Saleh of Yemen and Mubarak of Egypt. This suggests that the way how some leaders are represented began to differ in this period when compared to period 1. Similar clusters continued to appear in period 3. In *Al-Khaleej*, the use of the cluster *نظام الإخوان* *Muslim Brotherhood's regime* suggests that the party won the presidency election somewhere (Egypt in this case). The use of the definite form of the word reveals similar findings except that *النظام الإيراني* the *Iranian regime* appeared in periods 2 and 3 in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and in period 2 in *Al-Khaleej* perhaps due to its role in some of the Arab Spring countries. In conclusion, the cluster analysis of *regime* in the English and Arabic newspapers suggests that the era of the Arab Spring represented a turning point on how the leaders and authorities of the countries that witnessed uprisings, especially Libya and Syria, are represented and referred to in newspapers.

As shown in table 5.1.5, the words *العربي/العربية* (translated as *Arab*) were frequent across the three periods In *Al-Khaleej*. Carrying out a cluster analysis (table 5.1.13) revealed that the clusters *القمة العربية* *Arab summit* and *الجامعة العربية* *Arab League* were frequent in period 1 because two Arab League summits were held in 2009 (Qatar) and 2010 (Libya). However, some new clusters began to appear on surface in 2011 and continued to appear in period 3 such as *الربيع العربي* *the Arab Spring*.

Table 5.1.13: Cluster analysis for the words *العربية/العربي* *Arab/Arab* (feminine/masculine) in *Al-Khaleej*

Al-Khaleej (العربية/العربي Arab/Arab)					
Period 1 (2009/2010)		Period 2 (2011)		Period 3 (2012/2013)	
Freq.	Cluster Translation	Freq	Cluster Translation	Freq	Cluster Translation
1213	الدول العربية Arab countries	951	الدول العربية Arab countries	874	الدول العربية Arab countries
537	القمة العربية Arab Summit	512	الجامعة العربية Arab League	566	الربيع العربي Arab Spring
308	الجامعة العربية Arab League	368	العالم العربي Arab world	401	الإمارات العربية المتحدة United Arab Emirates
235	العالم العربي Arab world	278	الربيع العربي Arab Spring	303	الجامعة العربية Arab League
226	الإمارات العربية UAE	232	الإمارات العربية المتحدة United Arab Emirates	300	العالم العربي Arab world

226	الوطن العربي Arab World	219	الوطن العربي Arab World	205	الوطن العربي Arab World
192	جامعة الدول العربية Arab countries League	209	جامعة الدول العربية Arab countries League	166	نبيل العربي Nabil Elaraby

Unlike some other clusters that appeared in the three time periods such as *الدول العربية the Arab countries*, the cluster *الربيع العربي the Arab Spring* only appeared in periods 2 and 3, mainly because the event of the Arab uprisings occurred in late 2010 and early 2011, and still on-going in some Arab countries. To check whether the use of the cluster *الربيع العربي the Arab Spring* was constant in periods 2 and 3 in *Al-Khaleej*, I carried out a concordance analysis. The results showed that the representation of the cluster in 2011, the year when most of the revolutions began and ended, was both positive and negative (concordance 5.1.1/translation 5.1.2). The newspaper appears to be cautious and conservative at the very beginning of the protests and had a mixture of different attitudes after their ends. In period 2, *the Arab Spring* is portrayed as something risky that might unleash sectarian divisions, cause the rise of Islamists to power, and promote what is called radical Islam (lines 1 and 2). The economic impact of the event was also highlighted where the popular uprisings are said to cost the region billions of dollars (line 4). The tourism sector was mainly affected (line 5). Theft and looting also occurred on a massive scale during this era (line 6). *The Arab Spring* was also seen as something that turned into a long hot summer with red flowers, highlighting that the price to change the authoritarian regimes is very expensive (line 7). Regarding the other category (positive representation), there was a sense of optimism in different aspects, and *the Arab Spring* was praised and described as civil, peaceful and unarmed protests against injustice, corruption, unemployment, and poverty (line 12). Some voices in the newspaper also defended *the Arab Spring* saying that it is too early to judge whether it will leave a positive impact on the region or not (lines 13 and 14). It is also emphasized that people and analysts should not be in a rush to cancel *the Arab Spring's* gains, and that *the Arab Spring* began in Tunisia, gained momentum in Egypt, and stumbled on the gates of Tripoli, highlighting that this Spring might stumble, but not fail or die (lines 15 and 16).

1	وقال إن أحد المخاطر التي قد يتعرض لها الربيع العربي، إطلاق العنان للانقسامات الطائفية
2	تعرض (العلاقات الإسرائيلية-الإفريقية) لتحديات أبرزها صعود الإسلاميين إلى الحكم في دول شمال إفريقيا (تونس، المغرب، ليبيا) ومصر في أعقاب أحداث الربيع العربي
3	أعرب وزير الخارجية الروسي سيرغي لافروف، أمس، عن قلق بلاده من أن تثير ثورات الربيع العربي المزيد من الاضطراب
4	تكلفة "الربيع العربي" ... أن الانتفاضات الشعبية التي شهدتها الدول العربية في شمال إفريقيا والشرق الأوسط كلفت المنطقة أكثر من 55 مليار دولار
5	سياحة الربيع العربي تنتظر نتائج الثورات مع انتشار ما أصبح يعرف بأيام الربيع العربي في عدد من دول المنطقة، ينظر خبراء ومتابعون إلى القطاع السياحي في العالم العربي بكثير من التشاؤم
6	ولم تسلم ليبيا من عمليات سرقة ونهب الآثار خلال الربيع العربي
7	مع حسرة المراقبين من أن الربيع العربي، قد استحال إلى صيف ساخن طويل، يبدو أن ثمن التخلص من الحكم الاستبدادي منذ عقود من الزمن، باهظ جداً
8	بعض المراقبين يأملون في أن يفضي الربيع العربي إلى صيف مفعم بالنهار، في حين أن مراقبين آخرين، يشككون فيه ويتخوفون من أزهارة الجمر
9	في عمار أحداث الربيع العربي، كانت الإمارات العربية المتحدة ثابتة في دعمها للمشاركة السلمية، والحوار البناء، باعتبارهما الوسيلة الملائمة لتحقيق التغيير التقدمي
10	رئيس مجلس الوزراء حاكم دبي رعاها الله.. الربيع العربي هو تعبير عن الشعوب العربية ..هذا الأمر يحدث كل حوالي 100 سنة...لكن برأيي دول الخليج في مأمن في الوقت الحاضر
11	ويهدف التمويل إلى دعم جهود الإصلاح في أعقاب انتفاضات الربيع العربي
12	نلاحظ أن ثورة الربيع العربي التي تشهدها بعض الدول العربية اتسمت بالمظاهرات المدنية السلمية وغير المسلحة احتجاجاً على الظلم والفساد
13	تقول الأكثرية، إن من المبكر الحكم على ما إذا كان الربيع العربي، سيخلف أثراً إيجابياً على المنطقة
14	لا تستعجلوا إلغاء مكاسب الربيع العربي، إن الربيع العربي، بدأ في تونس، واكتسب زخماً في ميدان التحرير، وهو يعتز على أعقاب طرابلس... هذا الربيع يعتز، لأنه فشل أو مات
15	وحتم لقد علمنا التاريخ أن الثورات الشعبية تحلق بعدها فترات اضطراب، وإن الربيع العربي ليس كله ربيعاً وأن الكلفة الاقتصادية لمرحلة عدم الاستقرار كبيرة، ونفرض التسانذ والتعاون
16	أن المنطقة استفادت إجمالاً من الربيع العربي مع ارتفاع أسعار النفط الذي أعطى مكاسب كبرى لدول المنتجة للنفط التي لم تصل إليها الانتفاضات
17	واستوحيت حركة احتلال وول ستريت احتجاجاتها من مد الربيع العربي، الذي اجتاحت منطقة الشرق الأوسط

#### Concordance 5.1.1: The cluster الربيع العربي *The Arab Spring* in Al-Khaleej in 2011

1	and said that one of the risks that might be exposed after the <b>Arab Spring</b> is unleashing sectarian divisions
2	The (Israeli-African relations) are facing some challenges; mainly the rise of Islamists to power in the North African countries (Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya) and Egypt in the wake of the <b>Arab Spring</b> events
3	Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov expressed his country's concern that the <b>Arab Spring</b> might cause more turmoil
4	The " <b>Arab Spring</b> " ... the popular uprisings that the Arab countries witnessed in North Africa and the Middle East cost the region more than \$ 55 billion
5	The <b>Arab Spring</b> and tourism.... Some experts and watchers look to the tourism sector in the Arab world with much pessimism
6	Libya has had theft and looting operations during the <b>Arab Spring</b>
7	The <b>Arab Spring</b> has become a long hot summer, it seems that the cost of getting rid of the long authoritarian rule is too high
8	Some observers hope that the <b>Arab spring</b> will lead to summer that is full of fruits, while other observers are skeptical about it and afraid of red flowers.
9	In the midst of the <b>Arab Spring</b> events, the United Arab Emirates has been steadfast in its support for peaceful participation and constructive dialogue as the appropriate means to achieve progressive change
10	The UAE Prime Minister and Ruler of Dubai ... the <b>Arab Spring</b> reflects the views of the Arab peoples who waited for this since long time ... this happens every 100 years ... but in my opinion, the Gulf States are safe from this for the time being
11	The funding aims to support reform efforts in the wake of the <b>Arab Spring</b> uprisings
12	We note that the <b>Arab Spring</b> revolution that takes place in some Arab countries was characterized by civil peaceful and unarmed demonstrations against injustice and corruption
13	The majority says that it was too early to judge whether the <b>Arab Spring</b> will leave a positive impact on the region
14	Do not Rush on canceling the gains of the <b>Arab Spring</b> ,,, the <b>Arab Spring</b> began in Tunisia, has gained momentum in Tahrir Square, and stumbled on the doors of Tripoli ... this spring stumbles, but does not fail or die
15	History has taught us that the popular revolutions create periods of turbulence, and that the <b>Arab Spring</b> is not all spring, and that the economic cost of this stage of instability is great, and impose synergy and cooperation.
16	The region has benefited from the <b>Arab Spring</b> with the rise of oil prices, which resulted in major gains for oil-producing countries that have not witnessed uprisings
17	The movement of Occupy Wall Street is inspired by the <b>Arab Spring</b> that swept the Middle East

#### Concordance 5.1.2: Translation of concordance 5.1.1

In period 3, and after the main protests created a case of turmoil in the region, the cluster *the Arab Spring* was represented negatively in most cases (concordance 5.1.3/ translation 5.1.4). *Al-Khaleej* reported that the results and implications of this era are not satisfactory. It further highlighted that the attitudes and practices seen on the ground indicate fear and distrust, and that the coming days will be full of surprises (lines 1 and 2). Some Arab countries are described in *Al-Khaleej* to transit successfully from the “handcuffs” of *the Arab Spring* which affected and caused “threat” to most countries in the region (lines 3 and



4). Libya is described as “a shining model for the failure” of *the Arab Spring* and its attempt to create a new Arab model (line 5). It is also highlighted in *Al-Khaleej* that some “dangerous terrorist groups” have grown on the side-lines of *the Arab Spring* (line 7). They are said to gather their “extremist” fighters from the corners of the globe to fill the Arab region with havoc, killing, sabotage and suicide (line 7). It is also pointed out in *Al-Khaleej* that the period that followed the era of *the Arab Spring* witnessed a significant trouble in the economic sector due to insecurity, the closure of factories, instability, and the caution and fear of owners of capital to launch new projects in such circumstances (lines 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). In addition to the economic effect, *the Arab Spring* countries are said to face the risk of food crisis and displacement (lines 13 and 14).

1	هناك محاولات نراها أمامنا لسرقة الثورة العربية التي تطوع بعضهم وسماها <b>الربيع العربي</b> ، وهي تسمية لا أجد عندي حماسة لها
2	إن نتائج وتداعيات ما يسمى <b>الربيع العربي</b> في بعض الدول، ما تحقق منها أو في طريقه إلى التحقق، لا يبعث على الارتياح، بل ... على الخوف والارتياح معاً
3	يحتاج فيه المغرب إلى التأشير على نجاح تجربته في العبور من كليشيات <b>الربيع العربي</b>
4	وعندما بلغ سفك الدماء سوريا، أصبح ما يسمى <b>الربيع العربي</b> يشكل تهديداً للمناطق الجنوبية في تركيا
5	ليبيا هي نموذج ساطع لفشل ما يسمى <b>الربيع العربي</b> في خلق واقع عربي جديد، كما هو حال تونس ومصر
6	بعد عام ونصف العام على موجة ما يسمى <b>الربيع العربي</b> التي ضربت أكثر من بلد، لا بد للمواطن العربي أن يسأل: ماذا تحقق؟
7	هذه الطواهر الإرهابية الخطرة التي نمت وانتشرت على هامش ما يسمى <b>الربيع العربي</b> ما كان لها أن تظهر إلى الساحة وترفع راياتها السوداء وتنظم مقاتليها وتفجيريينها
8	إن خسائر الطيران والسياحة بسبب <b>الربيع العربي</b> بلغت 10 مليارات دولار في عام 2011 لكنه عقب أن دول الخليج استغادت من <b>الربيع العربي</b>
9	تراجع إجمالي تجارة الإمارات غير النفطية مع دول <b>الربيع العربي</b> بنحو 3 مليارات درهم خلال العام الماضي مقارنة بسابقه
10	مرحلة ما بعد <b>ثورات الربيع العربي</b> شهدت تعثراً كبيراً في الجانب الاقتصادي وحل مشكلة البطالة، حيث تقاومت الأوضاع الاقتصادية في كثير من تلك الدول
11	أعلن رئيس صندوق النقد العربي أمس، أن اقتصادات بلدان <b>الربيع العربي</b> تعاني بشدة من العنف الذي اتسمت به حركات الاحتجاج
12	أن معدلات البطالة ارتفعت بصورة كبيرة في بلدان <b>الربيع العربي</b> نظراً لانعدام الأمن وإغلاق المصانع وعدم الاستقرار
13	دول <b>الربيع العربي</b> تواجه مخاطر أزمة غذائية
14	ارتفاع عدد النازحين في العالم بنسبة 20% بسبب <b>الربيع العربي</b> ارتفعت نسبة النازحين داخل بلادهم عام 2011 بسبب النزاعات والحروب

#### Concordance 5.1.3: The cluster **الربيع العربي** *The Arab Spring* in Al-Khaleej in 2012/2013

1	There are some attempts to steal the Arab revolutions that some volunteered and call them the <b>Arab Spring</b> , a label that I am not satisfied with
2	The results and implications of the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> in some countries, achieved or on the way to be achieved, are not satisfactory, but indicates fear and distrust
3	Morocco needs to show up its successful experience in transitting from the handcuffs <b>Arab Spring</b>
4	When bloodshed reached Syria, the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> has become a threat to the southern regions of Turkey
5	Libya is a shining model for the failure of the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> in creating a new Arab reality. Tthis the case in Tunisia and Egypt as well
6	After a year and a half on the wave of the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> that has hit more than one country, the Arab citizen has to ask: What has been achieved?
7	The dangerous terrorist groupd that have grown and spread on the sidelines of the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> would not have appeared and raised their black flags and organized their fighters and bombings
8	The aviation's and tourism's losses due to the <b>Arab Spring</b> reached \$ 10 billion in 2011, but the Gulf countries have benefited from the <b>Arab Spring</b>
9	the UAE's non-oil trade with the <b>Arab Spring</b> countries was declined around 3 billion dirham compared with the previous year
10	The period that followed the era of the <b>Arab Spring</b> witnessed a significant trouble in the economic side especially the problem of unemployment, where the economic conditions were worsened in many of those countries
11	The chairman of the Arab Monetary Fund also announced that the economies of the <b>Arab Spring</b> countries hard hit by the violence that characterized the popular protest movements and the global financial crisis
12	unemployment rates have risen dramatically in the <b>Arab Spring</b> countries due to insecurity, the closure of factories, instability, and the caution and fear of capital owners to launch new projects in these circumstances
13	The <b>Arab Spring</b> countries face the risk of a food crisis
14	The proportion of people displaced within their own country rose by 20% in 2011 because of conflicts, wars, and acts of violence

#### Concordance 5.1.4: Translation of concordance 5.1.3

To examine how the word *Arab* also occurred across the three time periods in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I created a cluster analysis (table 5.1.14). In period 1, the clusters *الدول العربية Arab countries*, *القمة العربية Arab Summit*, *الجامعة العربية Arab League*, and *العمل العربي المشترك joint Arab action* were mainly used in the contexts of the different Arab league summits and their different agendas. The cluster *الربيع العربي the Arab Spring* was among the most frequent four clusters in period 2 and the most frequent cluster in period 3.

Table 5.1.14: Cluster analysis for the words *العربية/العربي Arab/Arab* (feminine/masculine) in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Asharq Al-Awsat (العربية/العربي Arab/Arab)					
Period 1 (2009/2010)		Period 2 (2011)		Period 3 (2012/2013)	
F.	Cluster	F.	Cluster	F.	Cluster
722	الدول العربية Arab countries	1236	الدول العربية Arab countries	1337	الربيع العربي Arab Spring
582	القمة العربية Arab Summit	1172	الجامعة العربية Arab League	817	الدول العربية Arab countries
370	الجامعة العربية Arab League	795	العالم العربي Arab world	594	العالم العربي Arab world
179	العمل العربي المشترك Joint Arab action	702	الربيع العربي Arab Spring	563	الجامعة العربية Arab League
124	جامعة الدول العربية Arab countries League	387	الثورات العربية Arab revolutions	243	المغرب العربي Arab Maghreb
122	المغرب العربي Arab Maghreb	296	جامعة الدول العربية Arab countries League	214	الثورات العربية Arab revolutions
76	المملكة العربية السعودية Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	220	المنطقة العربية Arab region	166	المنطقة العربية Arab region
65	المبادرة العربية Arab initiative	197	الشعوب العربية Arab peoples	152	المملكة العربية السعودية Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

In period 2 (2011), *Asharq Al-Awsat* appeared to be conservative when talking about the Arab Spring and the concordance lines contained neutral, positive, and negative discourse prosodies (concordance 5.1.5/ translation 5.1.6). The neutral stance was represented by the questions that the newspaper raised regarding this era such as “what are the causes that led to such uprisings?”, “will the Arab women's rights be better after the Arab Spring?” (line 1), and many others. Regarding the second category (positive representation), *the Arab Spring* is said to undermine al-Qaida’s ideology, and hammer the last nail in its coffin (line 2). Some voices in the newspaper criticized those who saw *the Arab Spring* as an American industry pointing out that America’s friends were at the forefront of the victims (line 5). With regard to the economic aspect of the event, it is said that *the Arab Spring* provided a



unique opportunity for achieving broad economic prosperity that the citizens of the Middle East and North Africa never expected (lines 6, 7, and 8). In its editorials and sometimes by quoting others, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, being published mainly in Saudi Arabia, praised the Arab monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, and claimed that they dealt with the events of *the Arab Spring* with much intelligence, control, and wisdom (lines 8 and 9). It is further emphasized that these regimes interacted with the voices of the people in addition to having historical roots that have been supported by time (line 10). After the outbreak of civil wars in some of *the Arab Spring*'s countries, it was reported that that *the Arab Spring* is not full of flowers, but thorns, and it turned into fall, and then winter (lines 11 and 12). The Arab citizens are encouraged not to be hopeless as communities' change is not easy and usually accompanied by chaos and negative effects (line 11). Regarding the third category (negative representation), *the Arab Spring* was said, in some cases, to turn into a bloody season that has disastrous consequences (line 14). It is also reported in *Asharq Al-Awsat* that many of its optimists misjudged the matter by thinking that history is always moving forward towards the best of people and modernity (line 15). Economically speaking and at the end of 2011, it is mentioned that *the Arab Spring* turns into economic winter as the popular unrest in North Africa and the Middle East cost the region a lot (lines 16 and 17).

1	هل حقوق المرأة العربية ستكون أفضل بعد الربيع العربي؟
2	كما قوضت أحداث الربيع العربي أيديولوجية «القاعدة» ودقت المسمار الأخير في نعشها
3	أبناء «الربيع العربي» في مقدمة مرشحي نوبل للسلام
4	رموز «الربيع العربي» تصدر «الشخصيات الأكثر نفوذاً» في العالم لائحة مجلة «تايم» السنوية
5	فالذين اعتبروا الربيع العربي صناعة أميركية رأوا أن أصدقاء الأميركيين في طليعة الضحايا
6	إن الربيع العربي قدم فرصة فريدة لتحقيق الرخاء الاقتصادي الواسع الذي يتوقعه المواطنون في منطقة الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا
7	في غضون ذلك، استفادت المنطقة إجمالاً من «الربيع العربي» نتيجة ارتفاع أسعار النفط، الذي عاد بأكبر المكاسب على الدول المنتجة للنفط والتي لم يصل إليها «الربيع العربي»
8	فيما وفر «الربيع العربي» حافزاً اقتصادياً للإمارات العربية المتحدة ولديها بالتحديد
9	أسباب عدم هبوب رياح «الربيع العربي» على منطقة الخليج العربي.. الأنظمة الحاكمة في الخليج قامت منذ البدء على إجماع الشعوب الخليجية على أسرة الحكم
10	وعلى عكس منها، فالأنظمة الملكية في الربيع العربي تعاملت بكثير من الذكاء والتحكم الهادئ، فتفاعلت مع أصوات الناس في حضرة هيبة الدولة، كالسعودية والمغرب والأردن
11	فليس من الضروري أن يثمر الربيع العربي في مصر يمثل ما أثمر في تونس، كما أنه لم يثمر في ليبيا يمثل ما يمكن أن تثمر به في اليمن وسوريا
12	أول ما يكتشفه الجميع الآن هو أن الربيع العربي ليس مليئاً بالزهور، بل هو مليء بالأنشوك
13	لكن ما حدث خلال العام المنصرم يشير إلى أن الربيع العربي تحول إلى خريف ثم إلى شتاء مع التغيير
14	وتبين في بعض الأحيان أن الربيع العربي يتحول إلى موسم دموي
15	يخطئ كثير من المتفائلين بالربيع العربي حين يحسبون أن التاريخ يتجه دائماً للأمام، أي نحو الأفضل والأكثر حداثة وتطوراً
16	صندوق النقد: «الربيع العربي» يتحول إلى «شتاء اقتصادي»
17	أن الاضطرابات الشعبية في شمال أفريقيا والشرق الأوسط المعروفة بـ«الربيع العربي»، كلفت المنطقة العربية أكثر من 65 مليار دولار

Concordance 5.1.5: The cluster الربيع العربي *The Arab Spring* in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2011

1	Will Arab women's rights be better after the <b>Arab Spring</b> ?
2	The <b>Arab Spring</b> events undermined «Qaeda» ideology, hammering the last nail in its coffin
3	The « <b>Arab Spring</b> » activists are at the forefront of the candidates of the Nobel Peace prize
4	The Symbols of « <b>Arab Spring</b> » topped «the most influential figures» in the world by the «Time» magazine's annual list
5	Those who considered the <b>Arab Spring</b> as an American industry saw America's friends at the forefront of the victims
6	Deputy Secretary-General of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development said that the <b>Arab Spring</b> provided a unique opportunity to achieve broad economic prosperity that the citizens of Middle East and North Africa region expected
7	The region has benefited from the « <b>Arab Spring</b> » as a result of high oil prices, which returned the biggest gains to the oil-producing countries that the « <b>Arab Spring</b> » did not reach
8	The « <b>Arab Spring</b> » also provided economic incentives for the UAE, in general, and Dubai in particular
9	The reasons why the winds of the « <b>Arab Spring</b> » did not reach the Arabian Gulf region, were a lot, most importantly is that the ruling regimes in the Arab countries of the Gulf, since their start, were chosen based on the consensus of the Gulf peoples on one ruling family
10	The Arab monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan have dealt with the events of the <b>Arab Spring</b> with much intelligence, control, and wisdom and interacted with the voices of the people in the presence of the state's prestige
11	It is not necessary for the <b>Arab Spring</b> in Egypt to produce as much as it resulted in Tunisia, as it did not bear fruit in Libya as much as they can bear fruit in Yemen and Syria
12	The first thing everyone discovered now is that the <b>Arab Spring</b> is not full of flowers, but thorns
13	What happened over 2011 indicates that the <b>Arab Spring</b> turned to fall, and then to winter with changes
14	The <b>Arab Spring</b> , in some cases, turned into a bloody season
15	Many optimists of the <b>Arab Spring</b> misjudged the matter when they think that history is always moving forward; towards the best of people and modernity
16	The International Monetary Fund (IMF) stated that the « <b>Arab Spring</b> » turns into «economic winter»
17	The popular unrest in North Africa and the Middle East known as the « <b>Arab Spring</b> », cost the Arab region more than \$ 65 billion

#### Concordance 5.1.6: Translation of concordance 5.1.5

In the third period (2012/2013), *Asharq Al-Awsat* had similar techniques in describing *the Arab Spring*, but with more negativity than 2011 (concordance 5.1.7/ translation 5.1.8). The newspaper gave much attention to the aftermath of the era, evaluated the new ruling regimes, and questioned whether the dreams of the protesters have been achieved or not. Its coverage appears to be a trial for the period, the importance of the event in its all dimensions and implications, current and future impact (line 1), and the lessons that can be learned from it. Democracy that bloomed and yielded after *the Arab Spring* is described as “immature” claiming that people will experience difficult times during the post uprisings period (line 2). The period was also described as “Islamic winter”, and “militias Spring” claiming that the bustling debate about the “romantic term” of *the Arab Spring* is on its way to demise (line 4). The period was also called as a “black winter” taking the whole region decades back (line 6). *The Arab Spring* was portrayed as a “disastrous Spring” being one of the biggest lies in modern history (line 8). This era is said to kidnap the concepts of freedom, democracy, justice, equality, rights and many others employing them differently from what they originally and historically were created for (line 10). Regarding the era's results, it is reported that *the Arab Spring* did not succeed in creating different regimes, and the new regimes did not succeed in achieving any of the promises they made for the millions of peoples before leaving the squares (line 11). It is highlighted that Arabs have lost at least a hundred thousand victims in this period, and the countries involved in this

‘Spring’ entered into a spiral of chaos, being ruled by people who do not differ from their predecessors (line 12). The Palestinian case is said to be the biggest loser of *the Arab Spring*, at least at the media level, as the events in Syria, Libya and Egypt were more dominant in the media coverage and the interests of the Arab masses were directed towards these countries rather than Palestine (line 13). Some Islamic parties were accused of abducting *the Arab Spring*, and there was a sense of fear that *the Arab Spring* is moving towards reproducing authoritarian but religious regimes as happened in Iran after the revolution (line 16).

1	أما النائية الكويتية السابقة رولا دشتي، فقد أبدت تخوفها من وجود مؤشرات ما بعد الربيع العربي، الذي شهد إسهما مدهلا للمرأة العربية، وقالت إنها مؤشرات لا تبشر بخير
2	بكل صراحة، لا نعيش «ديمقراطية» واعية.. أزهرت وأثمرت بعد إطلالة «الربيع العربي»، بل نمر بمخاض عسير
3	أما ما يسمى «الربيع العربي» فهذه التسمية ليست عربية، هذه العبارة جاءت من الخارج، وجاء بها من كانوا يقصفوننا بطائراتهم، وقالوا إنهم يصنعون لنا ربيعا
4	نحن نشهد في السنتين الأخيرتين الأحداث في العالم العربي، التي يسميها البعض (الربيع العربي) ويسميها آخرون (شتاء إسلاميا). أنا أعتقد أن كلنا التسميتين راديكالية
5	ربيع الميليشيات! يبدو أن الجدل صاحب حول المصطلح الرومانسي «الربيع العربي» في طريقه للأفول
6	الربيع العربي، أو «هذا الشتاء الأسود» كما وصفه الدكتور عطاء الله مهاجراني - المفكر والمنقف والإنسان، نبت من دون الحاجة إلى مفكرين
7	النورات التي شهدتها العالم العربي أو «الربيع العربي»، تسير في الاتجاه المعاكس وتعود به عقودا إلى الوراء
8	فيما كان يعرف بـ«الربيع العربي» واحدة من أكبر الكذبات في التاريخ المعاصر
9	تحول الربيع العربي إلى فجر كاذب، لأن مياه سقي أشجاره وأزهاره كانت مياه أجنبية، لم تتناغم مع التربة والبيئة الوطنية
10	هل تحول الربيع العربي المليء بالأمل والأحلام بعد أجمل معجم بالكرامة ومؤصل بالحقوق، إلى شتاء مظلم ومهلك يتحكم فيه الغلو ويفسح المجال للتسلط باسم التشدد الديني؟!
11	لم تنجح ثورات الربيع العربي في بناء أنظمة جديدة تحصل على الحد الأدنى من التوافق
12	لقد فقد العرب ما لا يقل عن 100 ألف من ضحايا «الربيع العربي»، ودخلت هذه الدول الذي اجتاحتها هذا «الربيع» في دوامة الفوضى العارمة
13	يبدو أن القضية الفلسطينية كانت الخاسر الأكبر من الربيع العربي، على الأقل على المستوى الإعلامي. إذ غطت عليها الأحداث في سوريا وليبيا ومصر
14	وما يزيد الأزمة حدة هي مسألة «القرصنة» التي تفاقمت مع «فلتان» الأوضاع الأمنية في بلدان كثيرة من بلدان الربيع العربي
15	تمكن الإخوان المسلمون، تلك الحركة الهامشية في الفكر الإسلامي من اختطاف الربيع العربي
16	بدأ الكثيرون يتخوفون من أن يسير الربيع العربي نحو إعادة إنتاج أنظمة استبدادية ولكن دينية هذه المرة على غرار ما حدث في إيران بعد الثورة
17	إن متشدد تنظيم القاعدة يستخدمون الدول التي أطاحت برعمايتها في انتفاضات الربيع العربي كقواعد لتدريب شبان راديكاليين

Concordance 5.1.7: The cluster الربيع العربي *The Arab Spring* in Asharq Al-Awsat in 2012/2013

1	The former Kuwaiti MP Rola Dashti has expressed her fears in the post- <b>Arab Spring</b> that has amazing contribution from women
2	Quite frankly, we do not live mature «democracy» bloomed and produced after the <b>Arab spring</b> , but we experience rough time.
3	The label of the so-called <b>Arab Spring</b> is not Arabic, and these words came from abroad, by those who bombed us (Arabs) by their planes, and who pretend that they are creating a spring for us
4	In the last two years, we are witnessing some events in the Arab world, which some call (the <b>Arab spring</b> ) while some others call them (the Islamist winter). I think that both names are radical
5	"Militias Spring"... it seems that the bustling debate about the romantic term the <b>Arab Spring</b> is on its way to demise
6	The <b>Arab Spring</b> , or «this black winter» has grown without the help of thinkers or intellectuals
7	The revolutions that the Arab world had witnessed are going on the opposite direction, taking it decades back
8	What was known as the <b>Arab Spring</b> is one of the biggest lies in modern history
9	The <b>Arab Spring</b> turned into a false dawn, because the water that is used to irrigate its trees and flowers is foreign, and not in harmony with the national soil and environment
10	Has the <b>Arab Spring</b> which was full of hope, dreams, dignity, and rights turned to a dark winter led and controlled by religious extremism?
11	<b>Arab Spring</b> did not succeed in building new regimes that has no harmony
12	Arabs have lost at least 100 thousand victims because of the <b>Arab Spring</b> , and the countries involved in this «spring» entered into a spiral of chaos
13	It seems that the Palestinian case was the biggest loser of the <b>Arab spring</b> , at least on the media level. It is overshadowed by events in Syria, Libya and Egypt.
14	What making things worse is the issue of «piracy» that was exacerbated due to the «chaos» and the bad security situation in many <b>Arab Spring</b> countries
15	The Muslim Brotherhood, the marginal movement in Islamic thought, was able to abduct the <b>Arab Spring</b>
16	Many people began to fear that the <b>Arab Spring</b> is moving towards reproducing authoritarian but religious regimes as happened in Iran after the revolution
17	The al-Qaeda militants are using the countries which toppled their leaders in the period of the <b>Arab Spring</b> as bases to train young radicals

Concordance 5.1.8: Translation of concordance 5.1.7

### 5.1.2. Discussion

In this section, I considered the most frequent 25 lexical words in the two English newspapers and the most frequent 35 lexical words in their Arabic counterparts. By examining the words that occurred across the three periods (2009/2010, 2011, 2012/2013), this section contributes to answering research question (1):

**Q1:** Are there any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* in *The Guardian*, *The NYT*, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013?

The results of the common words analysis suggest that the corpus is well-built where most of the people, places, countries and governments that were mentioned in the second and third periods in all newspapers are related to the era of the Arab Spring, and reflect the changes that happened in the region after the outbreak of the uprisings. Although it is too early to draw any conclusions about *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the investigated corpus, the common words analysis suggests the lack of prominent discourses with the country and its president from 2009 to 2013. To check this assumption, I carried out a cluster analysis for the words *Qaddafi* and *regime*, and found that in period 1, *Qaddafi* was reported ‘normally’, and, to a great extent, in a similar way to any other world leaders. However, there seems to be a shift in his representation in periods 2 and 3. This suggests that the era of the Arab Spring represented a turning point on how the Qaddafi’s regime is represented. The analysis of the three time periods (section 5.2, chapter 6, and chapter 7) will examine why such differences have occurred.

By investigating how the cluster *الربيع العربي* the Arab Spring was represented in the Arabic newspapers during and after the uprisings, this section partly contributed to answering research question (5) which is:

**Q5:** In what ways is the era of the Arab Spring defined and constructed in periods 2 (2011), and 3 (2012/2013) in Arabic and English newspapers’ articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt*?

The findings showed that a mixture of neutral, positive and negative representations is associated with this era based on the timeline of the uprisings. This suggests that both *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat* allow plurality in public debate by representing a range of positions. Some voices that are with and against the movement of the Arab Spring were reported in both newspapers, providing balance in the story by introducing the opposing voices. This is according to Phillips (2015) an important way of broadening the number of voices in a story. Moreover, this contributes to having a multiplicity of points of view. As a result, and when all views have been taken into account, rational people can make better judgements (Phillips, 2015). However, although some space was given to the different voices, the sources that align with the newspapers' agenda seem to be given more space and so they had the final words. For example, by using metaphors, and frequently describing the era as "black winter", "hot summer", "dark autumn", and "bloody and disastrous spring", and criticizing the "romantic term" of the era referring to it as the "so called Arab Spring", it appears that *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* are privileging some dimensions that are not much supportive to the Arab Spring.

Some voices in both *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*, when talking about the labelling of the event as *the Arab Spring* especially in period 3, highlighted that the term is not of Arab origin, and is coined elsewhere. In this context, they tended to use different strategies that highlight the notion of the ideological square of discursive group polarisation by representing themselves positively, and 'Others' negatively (Van Dijk, 2003) as shown in table 5.1.15.

Table 5.1.15: Van Dijk's ideological Square

Van Dijk ideological Square	
WE/US (in-group members)	THEY/THEM (out-group members)
Emphasize good things (deeds)	Emphasize bad things (deeds)
De-emphasize bad things (deeds)	De-emphasize good things (deeds)

*The Arab Spring's* activists or "sons", for example, were praised in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as they were at the forefront of the candidates of the Nobel Peace prize, and topped "the most influential figures" in the world (concordance 5.1.5, lines 4 and 5). Rhetorical figures such as metaphors were used in criticizing the label of the events claiming that it is not Arabic, and came from abroad, by those who bombed "us" (Arabs) by their planes, and who pretend

that they are creating a 'Spring' for "us" (line 7). It is highlighted in *Asharq Al-Awsat* that *the Arab Spring* turned into a "false dawn" because the water that is used to irrigate its trees and flowers is foreign, and not in harmony with the national soil and environment (line 9). In the same vein, the use of the phrase ما يسمى "so called" with *the Arab Spring* was frequent in *Al-Khaleej* (lines 1 and 2). This indicates that this name or description is not really right or suitable. There were also some claims that there are some attempts to steal the Arab awakening by those who "volunteered" and gave it this labelling (Concordance 5.1.5).

Al-Khaleej	
1	هناك محاولات نراها أمامنا لسرقة الثورة العربية التي تطوع بعضهم وسماها الربيع العربي، وهي تسمية لا أجد عندي حماسة لها There are some attempts, we can see, to steal the Arab revolution, which some volunteered, and called it the Arab Spring; a label I am not enthused about
2	إن نتائج وتداعيات ما يسمى الربيع العربي في بعض الدول... لا يبعث على الارتياح The results and implications of the so-called Arab Spring in some countries is not satisfactory
3	واستوحيت حركة احتلوا وول ستريت احتجاجاتها من مد الربيع العربي، الذي اجتاحت منطقة الشرق الأوسط "Occupy Wall Street" movement was inspired by the protests of the Arab Spring, which swept the Middle East.
Asharq Al-Awsat	
4	أبناء «الربيع العربي» في مقدمة مرشحي نوبل للسلام The «Arab Spring» Sons at the forefront of candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize
5	رموز «الربيع العربي» تتصدر «الشخصيات الأكثر نفوذا» في العالم لائحة مجلة «تايم» السنوية The «Arab Spring» symbols top «the most influential personalities» in the world in the annual list of «Time» magazine
6	الربيع العربي ليس مليئا بالزهور، بل هو مليء بالأشواك The Arab Spring is not full of flowers, but of thorns
7	أما ما يسمى «الربيع العربي» فهذه التسمية ليست عربية، هذه العبارة جاءت من الخارج، وجاء بها من كانوا يقصفوننا بطائراتهم، وقالوا إنهم يصنعون لنا ربيعاً The label of the so-called Arab Spring is not Arabic, and came from abroad, by those who bombed "us" (Arabs) by their planes, and who pretend that they are creating a Spring for "us".
8	فيما كان يعرف بـ«الربيع العربي» واحدة من أكبر الكذبات في التاريخ المعاصر The so-called «Arab Spring» is one of the biggest lies in modern history
9	تحول الربيع العربي إلى فجر كاذب، لأن مياه سقي أشجاره وأزهاره كانت مياه أجنبية، لم تتناغم مع التربة والبيئة الوطنية The Arab Spring turned into a "false dawn" because the water that is used to irrigate its trees and flowers is foreign, and not in harmony with the national soil and environment.

Concordance 5.1.9: Examples of the ideological square in Asharq Al-Awsat and Al-Khaleej

The three investigated time periods in this study (pre-, during, and post uprisings) are analyzed and discussed in section 5.2 (period 1), chapter 6 (period 2), and chapter 7 (period 3).



## 5.2. Period 1 (2009/2010)

I now turn to investigate how the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010) is represented in the four investigated newspapers. This period will be taken as a baseline, and its analysis will be taken as a benchmark to measure and assess the newspapers' style and type of coverage in the other two periods. Period 1 represents the pre-uprisings era, and is important for this study because it reflects the 'actual' nature of the relations between *Qaddafi* and the countries where the main investigated newspapers are located in the last decade. Examining the historical context of these relations, I found that Qaddafi's relations with the West and some Arab countries were strained and tense since he came to power in 1969. However, such relations were normalized and stabilized gradually since late 1990s. Chapter 6 examines whether such relations are affected by the pressure of the international community especially after the *Qaddafi's* 'violence' in facing the 2011 Libyan uprisings and his decision to fight his own people.

### 5.2.1. Unique words

In order to uncover the different news foci on *Qaddafi* and *Libya* in the four English and Arabic newspapers in this period (2009/2010), I examined the most frequent *unique* words, which refer to the words that only occur in (a) particular period(s) but not all periods, as shown in table 5.2.1. This will contribute to uncovering discourses about the representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the pre-uprisings era. It will also contribute to answering the following research question:

**2/A:** What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

Table 5.2.1: Unique words in period 1 (2009/2010) in the English and Arabic newspapers

Newspaper	Unique words in period 1
The Guardian	Megrahi, Libyan, release, Scottish, UK, Britain, international, minister, decision, pounds, Lockerbie
The NYT	American, nuclear, world, years, oil, Libyan, Megrahi, Obama, Israel, international, state, countries, Iran

<b>Al-Khaleej</b>	الاتحاد، العالم، الدولة، دولة، الشيخ، البطولة، دبي، الفريق، العرب، مليون، القمة union, the world, (the) country, Sheikh, championship, Dubai, the team, Arabs, million, summit
<b>Asharq Al-Awsat</b>	القمة، العام، الله، الماضي، السودان، واضاف، الاتحاد، وزير، السلام، العرب، دارفور، الدولية، طرابلس، اسرائيل summit, general (year), Allah, last, Sudan, and he added, union, minister, peace, Arabs, Darfur, international, Tripoli, Israel

Table 5.2.1 shows that the majority of the unique words in the *Guardian* in this period were used in the context of the Lockerbie plane bombing, while the *NYT* mainly focused on Libya's oil and nuclear program and its relation with other countries, mainly Israel and Iran. *Al-Khaleej* appears to mainly address local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where the newspaper is published and located. Most of the unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* such as *summit*, *peace*, *Darfur*, *Sudan*, and *Israel* reflect pan-Arab issues.

#### 5.2.1.1. English Newspapers

Given that the case of the Lockerbie bombing dominated the wordlist in the *Guardian*, the focus in this section will be mainly on the representation of *Megrahi*, the man convicted of the bombing, to see how the event of the release was covered in the two English newspapers, while the keyword's analysis section (5.2.2.1) will examine Libya's nuclear program and its relations with other countries. Although this corpus cannot fully answer the question of how the newspapers report on issues concerning Israel, Iran, or some other countries since it only contains articles about *Libya* and *Qaddafi*, further investigation was done to see why they were frequent in the Libyan co-text, and examine why these countries in particular were mentioned frequently or saliently in a corpus that was built using some query terms about *Libya* and *Qaddafi*. This might also provide some information about the political context of where the newspapers operate.

The representation of *Megrahi* in the two Arabic newspapers will be discussed in the Arabic keyword's analysis section (5.2.2.2). In order to connect the linguistic level with the social one (Van Dijk, 2004) and to consider wider contexts of discourse by investigating both the actual and immediate use of language/text, and the socio-political and historical



contexts (Wodak, 2009), I examined the timeline of the Lockerbie plane bombing as table 5.2.2 shows.

Table 5.2.2: The Timeline of the *Lockerbie bombing*

The Timeline of the Lockerbie bombing	
Year	Description
1988	The Pan Am Flight 103 was blown up over the Scottish town of Lockerbie
1999	Qaddafi handed over the two suspects of the Lockerbie bombing to Netherlands for a trial by Scottish judges
2001	One of the two Libyan suspects on the Lockerbie bombing called Abdelbaset Ali al-Megrahi was sentenced to life imprisonment, while the other suspect was found not guilty and freed
2003	Libya signed a deal of almost \$2.7 billion as a compensation for the families of the Lockerbie victims
2008	Libya paid \$1.5 billion of the compensation
Aug-09	Megrahi was freed on compassionate grounds and returned to Libya
Jul-10	The British Petroleum (BP) confirmed that it won a license to work off the Libyan coast. The company was immediately accused of lobbying for Lockerbie bomber's release
Dec-10	WikiLeaks published that Qaddafi threatened to cut trade with Britain and warned of enormous repercussions if Megrahi died in the Scottish jail.
May-12	A private funeral was held in Tripoli after the death of Megrahi.

In the *Guardian*, the name *Megrahi* was the second most frequent lexical word in period 1 and came after the reporting verb *said*, which is the most frequent content word in the whole corpus. In the *NYT*, the uses of some words such as *Libyan*, *Megrahi* and sometimes *oil* are related to the same case, i.e. the Lockerbie plane bombing. In order to examine how *Megrahi* was represented in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*, I classified the word's statistically strongest 50 collocates with the highest Dice score into 5 different thematic categories as shown in table 5.2.3. *Megrahi* might be represented in some ways other than the ones mentioned below; however, I have used the corpus techniques of collocation and concordance to be directed to the most salient ones.

Table 5.2.3: Thematic categories of *Megrahi*'s collocates in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*

The Collocates of <i>Megrahi</i>		
Thematic Category	The Guardian	The NYT
The main Event	case, Lockerbie, affair	Lockerbie, case
Description of Megrahi	convicted, Tripoli, hero, man, welcome, home, sent	basset, Abdel, ali, convicted, agent, bomber, person, only, man, former, intelligence, Libyan

<b>The decision and how it was described</b>	released, prison, alive, freed, appeal, release, evidence, jail, releasing, prosecution, return, conviction	release, grounds, innocence, serve, received, served, decision, term, return, prison, released, permitted, admitted, abandoned, conviction, home, freed, August, eight, freedom, sentence
<b>Justifications for the release</b>	medical, compassionate, live, grounds, prostate, die, cancer, terminal, death	die, prostate, compassionate, cancer, life, application, doctors, fate, terminal, commercial, won, medical, transfer, prisoner
<b>Involved countries and people</b>	Macaskill, Scotland, justice, lawyer, Kenny, Scottish, Gauci, clothes, lawyers, secretary	British, Scottish, families

**The main event.** In the *Guardian*, the collocates in this category relate to the main event that *Megrahi* was involved in known as the Lockerbie bombing because the airplane fell out of the skies over the Scottish town of Lockerbie. The controversy of Lockerbie came to the surface in 2009 about 25 years after the event. This was not to highlight the deadly attack on civilian airlines that claimed hundreds of lives nor to remember the victims who lost their lives on that night, but to cover the event of the release of the only suspect in the case. The event was described in the *Guardian* as “Lockerbie atrocity”, and “the worst act of terrorism in British history” to show the cruelty of the event.

As in the *Guardian*, *Lockerbie* was within the statistically strongest 50 collocates with *Megrahi* in the *NYT*. Carrying out a concordance analysis for the word in the *NYT*, I found that *Lockerbie* is usually accompanied with some other information about its location, time of event, the destination of the plane, and the airplane’s type to provide readers with some background information about the whole event. In a good number of incidents, the focus was on the exact number of the American victims who died in the bombing (189 people) perhaps to show that the United States is the country most affected by the event, and has the full right to comment on and criticize any decision related to it. The bombing was described as “heinous crime”, “disaster” and “tragedy” in which the innocent victims were “cruelly murdered”.

**Description of Megrahi.** In the *Guardian*, *Megrahi* was referred to in different ways based on the discussed event. For example, to put pressure on and criticize the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a hero’s welcome after the release, and blame the Scottish government

for taking such a decision, the *Guardian* described him on a few occasions as a “mass murderer”, and “terrorist” (the *Guardian*, line 1, concordance 5.2.1). However, when the newspaper wants to reduce its criticism, the bomber is called by his name without any description.

Unlike the *Guardian*, some information about *Megrahi* was frequently provided in the *NYT* such as his nationality (Libyan), his age (57 years old), his position in the Libyan regime (an intelligence agent), his crime (bombing Pan Am Flight 103), the number of victims killed because of the bombing (270 people), how long his sentence was (27 years) and how many years he has served before his release (8 years) (the *NYT*, lines 1, 2, and 3 concordance 5.2.1). By frequently mentioning such details especially the ones related to *Megrahi*’s nationality and position in the Libyan regime, the *NYT* indirectly criticizes Libya and Qaddafi accusing them of committing terrorist crimes.

The Guardian	
1	Although it seems almost impossible, a painfully similar scenario is playing out in <b>Scotland. Abdelbaset al-Megrahi, the terrorist</b> convicted in the Lockerbie bombing, may soon be released by the <b>Scottish</b> government and handed over to <b>Libya</b> , the very government that <b>plotted this cowardly mass murder</b> .
The NYT	
1	Mr. Megrahi, 57, a <b>former Libyan intelligence agent</b> , had served 8 years of a 27-year minimum sentence
2	Mr. Megrahi, 57, a <b>former Libyan intelligence agent</b> who worked undercover at <b>Libya's</b> national airline
3	Mr. Megrahi, a <b>former Libyan intelligence agent</b> , is the only person convicted of the <b>murder</b> of 270

Concordance 5.2.1: Description of *Megrahi* in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*

**The decision and how it was described.** This category includes some collocates that are related to the decision of the release and whether *Megrahi* is innocent and should be released. In the *Guardian*, the words *release\**, *free\**, and *return\** were mentioned in different co-texts, namely the released person, those responsible for taking the decision, reasons for the release, different opinions on the release, and *Megrahi*’s return to Libya (Concordance 5.2.2). The reaction on the decision was severe and harsh especially from the official American point of view condemning the decision and describing it as “disturbing” and “wrong” (line 1). In an opinion piece, a columnist in the *Guardian* criticized the British government and described the event as a “mistake” and “a sorry, cooked up conspiracy”, but the “revolution recalled” after the “extravagant celebrations” at *Megrahi*’s reception in Tripoli (line 2). However, going through Comment & Debate section, it seems that some

readers criticized the US officials for their reaction on the release. The criticism was extended to reach Cameron, the leader of the British Conservative Party, who blamed the “the lawful and probably just decision” of the Scottish authorities (line 3).

1 The mayor of Englewood, Michael Wildes, said the idea of a Gaddafi visit had caused much **anger** in the area. We've seen him in recent days offer a hero's welcome to a convicted terrorist. This is a community that will never forget **acts of terrorism**.  
 2 Furthermore, the televised welcome for Megrahi on his return to Tripoli and his audience with Gaddafi has heaped **further humiliation on Britain** as a whole. This has all been suffered merely in the hope that **trade with Libya will benefit British companies**. The disadvantages so **outweigh** the potential **benefits** that the government's strategy appears almost risible.  
 3 **David Cameron** has no business trying to curry favour with the US administration by **criticising the lawful and probably just decision** of the Scottish justice secretary Kenny MacAskill to release Megrahi on compassionate grounds. He should instead have lectured Obama on the subject of motes and beams; there was plenty of material for him to draw on - he could have started with the comfortable retirement in Miami of Luis Posada Carriles, an ex-CIA stringer responsible for the bombing of Cubana Flight 455 in 1976, despite his conviction in absentia in Venezuela and their related extradition requests

Concordance 5.2.2: The decision of the release and how it was described in the *Guardian*

The second part of the decision, after the release, was sending *Megrahi* back home. This part of the decision was covered heavily in the *Guardian* blaming and criticizing Scotland for returning *Megrahi* to the adored Libyan lands (lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 11), and the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a rapturous welcome (line 13). Libya was described to be delighted by the decision, and the event is described as a victory of Libyan people (line 12). The dense coverage of *Megrahi*'s hero welcome in Tripoli suggests that the newspaper is more interested in covering news about the way *Megrahi* was received than the event of the release itself. This is perhaps to shift the criticism from Britain and Scotland towards Qaddafi and Libya (concordance 5.2.3).

1 Scotland's **release** of the convicted **Lockerbie** bomber  
 2 **release** of terminally-ill **Lockerbie** bomber  
 3 criticised the early **release** of the **Lockerbie** bomber  
 4 condemned the **release** of the **Lockerbie** bomber  
 5 controversy over the **release** of the **Lockerbie** bomber  
 6 The row over the **release** of the **Lockerbie** bomber  
 7 resentment in the State over the **release** of the convicted bomber  
 8 "disturbing" decision to **release**  
 9 a full throated condemnation of the Scottish decision to **release**  
 10 decision to **release** him was wrong  
 11 freeing **Megrahi** was a bad decision  
 12 Libya's achievements is likely to include footage of **Megrahi's** triumphant return  
 13 hero's welcome" given to **Megrahi** on his return to Libya: what on earth did anyone expect?

Concordance 5.2.3: The *decision* and how it was described in the *Guardian*

In the *NYT*, this category includes some information about the person/country responsible for the decision, its aftermath and how it was described, and the role of Britain in influencing the Scottish authorities to take the decision. The Scottish government was referred to, in the majority of occasions, as the one responsible for the release although it is accused of being influenced by some British officials and companies. In very few occasions, Britain was not only said to influence the decision, but also to take it (line 1). Reacting to the decision, some voices in the *NYT* discussed how “terrorists” should be treated, and described the event as “absolutely wrong”, “a disgrace”, “completely and utterly wrong” and “vile” (lines 3, 4, and 5). The *NYT* reported some British officials who criticized and condemned the decision and saw it as the most damaging event in the UK’s relation with the U.S. in a decade (line 2). *Megrahi*’s “warm” homecoming and hero’s reception at Tripoli airport was also covered densely in the *NYT* since it caused the anger of many people. The “jubilant” welcome of *Megrahi* was described as “deeply distressing” denying the families of the victims, and being “outrageous” and “disgusting” (line 6). To show that the decision was wrong, some voices in the *NYT* kept linking the release and the hero’s welcome with the reactions of the families of the 189 American victims who “were stunned” by that (line 7) (concordance 5.2.4).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Governments of <b>Scotland</b> and <b>Britain</b> to review the decision to <b>release</b> Mr. <b>Megrahi</b> . |
| 2 | <b>Megrahi's release</b> , dominated the joint news conference after the White House meetings.                  |
| 3 | <b>Megrahi's release</b> would be "a disgrace."   |
| 4 | The decision to <b>release</b> al- <b>Megrahi</b> was completely and utterly wrong                              |
| 5 | any suggestion that Mr. <b>Megrahi</b> should be freed on compassionate grounds was "vile"                      |
| 6 | <b>Megrahi's release</b> would have caused "real distress" to some of the victims' families                     |
| 7 | The <b>Scottish</b> government stunned victims' families by its decision  |

Concordance 5.2.4: The *decision* and how it was described in the *NYT*

**Justifications for the release.** This category includes some justifications for releasing *Megrahi* and sending him back to Libya. Two main reasons of the release were salient in the *Guardian*’s coverage of the event as the collocates in this category show, namely *Megrahi*’s health conditions, and preventing his death in prison. Examining the collocates *compassionate*, *cancer*, *ill*, *prostate*, *terminal*, and *medical*, I found that there was a focus in the *Guardian* on *Megrahi*’s poor health conditions (concordance 5.2.5). The newspaper also frequently reported some Scottish officials who emphasized that the release was politically neutral and done under the Scottish law and after the doctors said that *Megrahi* has less than

three months to live because he had cancer (line 1). Examining the collocate *cancer*, I found that not only the general reason for the release, i.e. on compassionate ground, was mentioned but also the specific illness that led to this decision (lines 2 and 3). Mentioning some clauses such as “his body riven by cancer”, “the spreading prostate cancer is killing him”, and “his body failed to respond to hormone” (lines 4 and 5) suggests that *Megrahi* was suffering from a severe disease. However, in Comment & Debate section, some readers do not seem to be happy even with this reason, and mentioned some examples of criminals who suffered from severe health conditions while in prisons and still spent most of their lives in prison (lines 6 and 7). The other reason is related to the previous one, where some British officials warned that *Megrahi*'s death in prison will damage the relation with Libya (lines 8 and 9). Accordingly, the focus in the *Guardian* was on the humanitarian aspect of the release with a very little connection to Britain's interest in the Libyan oil. By doing so, the newspaper indirectly addresses the criticism of the United States and some of the victims' families, and highlights that showing mercy even to terrorists is part of the civilized societies' values. It is worth mentioning here that when I went through the concordance lines of *Megrahi*, I found that the *Guardian* included other justifications such as economic motivations (British Petroleum (BP)/ Libya-Britain bilateral relations), and prisoners transfer agreement (PTA). However, as I mentioned above, only the most salient collocates with *Megrahi* are discussed, and in the co-text of the release justifications, the two above-mentioned reasons were the most salient. This suggests that there was space in the *Guardian* for the different voices and points of view on the matter although the elite source might be given more space and given the final words.

1	Kenny MacAskill, explain his decision to release Abdelbaset al- <b>Megrahi</b> purely in terms of compassion. The terminally ill man convicted of the 1988
2	decision to free <b>Megrahi</b> because spreading prostate cancer is killing him.
3	His cancer, diagnosed in September 2008, failed to respond to hormone
4	al- <b>Megrahi</b> s cancer is in its final stages.
5	his release last year on <b>compassionate</b> grounds because of advanced prostate cancer . A year on, <b>Megrahi</b> is still alive, but 22 years after Pan Am
6	When the West German government pleaded - again on <b>compassionate</b> grounds - for the release of Herbert Kappler, the former Gestapo chief in Rome serving life imprisonment in Italy for the massacre of 335 Italian civilians in 1944, the Italian government repeatedly refused, out of respect for his victims' families. But because he had stomach cancer, he was moved in 1977 from <b>prison</b> to a Rome clinic, where his wife, a German nurse who had married him in <b>prison</b> five years earlier, singlehandedly secured his release by carrying him out past his guards in a large suitcase. He weighed less than seven and a half stone at the time, but nevertheless survived at home in Stuttgart for another six months.
7	Ronnie Biggs's crime, the Great Train Robbery, hardly compares with the terrible massacre of which <b>Megrahi</b> was convicted; even so, Jack Straw at first refused to consider Biggs's release, despite the extremely grim state of his health. Straw understood that judicial decisions should not be lightly overruled. So if <b>Megrahi</b> doesn't <b>die</b> before Biggs, I wouldn't want to be in MacAskill's shoes.
8	former British ambassador to Libya, warned that relations would be damaged if <b>Megrahi</b> were allowed to <b>die</b> in <b>prison</b> .
9	businesses and possibly security co-operation, would be damaged, perhaps badly, if <b>Megrahi</b> were to <b>die</b> in a Scottish <b>prison</b> ,

Concordance 5.2.5: The justification of Megrahi's release in the *Guardian*



In the *NYT*, the main apparent reason for *Megrahi*'s release was on compassionate grounds as he was dying of cancer (lines 1 and 2). Despite so, the US government and presidency kept questioning, all the time, his medical condition, and the validity of the medical evidence released by some British specialists (lines 3 and 4). *Megrahi*'s release and its relation to the Prisoner Transfer Agreement (PTA) were also covered by the *NYT* (line 5). Some voices in the newspaper kept reiterating that both Blair and Brown contributed to the release of *Megrahi* by taking part in the negotiations of the prisoner transfer agreement (PTA) with Libya (lines 6 and 7). Some also linked the British Petroleum (BP) plans to drill its first Libyan well in the second half of 2010 and the controversy that oil and trade's considerations could have played a role in the early release of *Megrahi* (lines 8, 9, 10, and 11). This suggests that some institutions and elite powers in Britain have put pressure on Scotland to release *Megrahi* to improve their relations with Libya. The *NYT* also reported the Libyan officials who confirmed that *Megrahi*'s case was on the table in all negotiations with Britain, and that one of the main factors in *Megrahi*'s release was Britain's eagerness for oil deals (lines 12, and 13) (concordance 5.2.6). Accordingly, it appears that Britain is criticized in a direct way by highlighting that it is the main responsible of the decision to achieve its personal interests regardless the cruelty of the event and its effect on the families of the victims.

1 **Megrahi**, 57, who has terminal prostate cancer, was released by Mr. MacAskill  
2 **Megrahi** on **compassionate** grounds, after doctors in Scotland provided affidavits saying he was likely to die of advanced prostate cancer within three months.  
3 Washington will question him about the case of Abdel Baset al- **Megrahi** and about **BP** attempts at securing **prisoner** releases  
4 the **British** government's role in the **Megrahi** release and the involvement of **British** companies with interests in Libya  
5 the Scottish authorities that he would seek to exclude Mr. **Megrahi** from a **prisoner transfer agreement** under negotiation with Tripoli.  
6 Mr. Blair and Mr. Brown each intervened in the negotiation of a **prisoner transfer agreement** with Libya, with Mr. **Megrahi** its most obvious beneficiary.  
7 Officials in London had told Scottish officials, in the context of the **prisoner transfer agreement**, that letting Mr. **Megrahi** go would benefit **British** commercial interests.  
8 Scotland's early release of the convicted Lockerbie bomber, Ali al- **Megrahi**, left. **BP** plans to drill its first Libyan well in the second half of 2010  
9 possible links between Mr. **Megrahi**'s release and **BP**'s eagerness to win Libyan ratification  
10 The **British** justice minister at the time, Jack Straw, admitted after Mr. **Megrahi** was freed that the **BP** deal was a consideration in the review  
11 **British** and Libyan officials have acknowledged, oil **deals** and Mr. **Megrahi**'s release were never off the agenda.  
12 **British** officials had agreed to release Mr. **Megrahi** as part of a business deal.  
13 Libyan officials have hinted that the primary factor in Mr. **Megrahi**'s release, from their standpoint, was Britain's eagerness for hydrocarbon **deals**.

Concordance 5.2.6: The justification of *Megrahi*'s release in the *NYT*

**Involved people and countries.** In the *Guardian*, the decision of the release is described as a Scottish one, made by the Scottish authorities under the Scottish law and has nothing to do with the British officials (lines 1 and 2). Some voices in the newspaper highlighted the importance of *Megrahi*'s case to Scotland, and how it affected the position of Salmond's

Scottish National party (SNP) cabinet (line 3). *MacAskill*, the former Scottish Cabinet Secretary for Justice was a collocate with *Megrahi* as he authorised Megrahi's release on compassionate grounds after he had served 8½ years of a life sentence. *Megrahi*'s release was seen as the toughest decision in *MacAskill*'s life accusing him of making the "wrong decision" (lines 4 and 5). *MacAskill* was criticized for taking and announcing the decision without consulting the Crown Office, being described as "a single-minded reformer with the hide of a rhinoceros" (lines 6 and 7). Although *MacAskill* said that he consulted all relevant parties before the release, his justification was seen as a "smokescreen" for a political decision already taken elsewhere (lines 10, 11, and 12). Describing *MacAskill* this way in the *Guardian* suggests that the decision of the release was Scottish taken by Scottish officials, and has nothing to do with Britain (concordance 5.2.7).

1	Under <b>Scottish</b> law, <b>Megrahi</b> was entitled to be considered for release on compassionate grounds.
2	the decision to release <b>Megrahi</b> was a <b>Scottish</b> one, for which Gordon Brown was not personally responsible
3	To the <b>Scottish</b> government's embarrassment, <b>Megrahi</b> is still living at home with his wife and mother in Tripoli.
4	<b>MacAskill</b> took the toughest decision of his life and allowed a convicted mass murderer to be released
5	<b>MacAskill</b> , the <b>Scottish</b> justice minister, got it wrong in releasing Abdelbaset al- <b>Megrahi</b> to Libya.
6	<b>MacAskill</b> 's decision was announced without consulting the Crown Office.
7	<b>MacAskill</b> : A singleminded reformer with the 'hide of a rhinoceros'
8	<b>MacAskill</b> : "In <b>Scotland</b> , we are a people who pride ourselves on our humanity.
9	<b>MacAskill</b> is reported to have been given compelling medical evidence about the Libyan's health.
10	<b>MacAskill</b> insists he consulted every relevant group and government: US relatives; the US attorney general, Eric Holder;
11	<b>MacAskill</b> 's argument was clearly a smokescreen for a political decision already taken elsewhere.
12	<b>MacAskill</b> 's arguments are both morally and logically fraudulent. We show mercy towards the merciless by abjuring
13	<b>MacAskill</b> 's had wrongly put compassion for <b>Megrahi</b> before compassion for the 270 victims and their families.

Concordance 5.2.7: Involved people and countries in the co-text of Megrahi's release in the *Guardian*

In the *NYT*, two countries collocated saliently with *Megrahi*, namely Britain and Scotland. Britain's involvement in *Megrahi*'s release was mentioned frequently (concordance 5.2.8). For example, it was mentioned that the U.K. wanted to have a better relation with Libya and so there was a great deal of talks about conspiracies and backdoor deals between the two countries (lines 1 and 2). The *NYT* also reported that the least harmful option for Britain to release *Megrahi* was the compassionate grounds to avoid others' criticism. Some sentences were frequent in this co-text such as "Britain's desire for multibillion-dollar Libyan oil contracts", and "Mr. Megrahi's release had opened the way for Britain's leading oil companies to pursue multibillion-dollar oil contracts with Libya" (line 4). In the *NYT*, the tone of talking about Scotland was a bit moderate. For example, *MacAskill* was reported frequently to justify the compassionate grounds of the release saying that the Scottish justice



system allows this (line 5). For the Libyan side, Qaddafi praised Brown and described him as his friend, the Queen of Britain, and Prince Andrew for encouraging Scotland to take a “historic and courageous” decision in spite of all “illogical objections” (line 6). Repeating these points frequently in the *NYT* implies that it was mainly Britain that played an important role in taking the decision to save its relations with the regime of Qaddafi.

1 There has been a great deal of talk about conspiracies and backdoor deals between **Britain** and Libya over Mr. Megrahi's case.  
2 **London** has been accused of pushing behind the scenes for Mr. Megrahi's release to advance **Britain's** hopes of securing billions of dollars in oil  
3 letting Mr. Megrahi go would benefit **British** commercial interests.  
4 In fact, releasing terminally ill prisoners is fairly standard practice in Scotland. Since 1997, 31 prisoners, including Mr. Megrahi, have applied for compassionate release.  
5 The **Scottish** government has said that it was acting compassionately, under **Scottish** law. Mr. Megrahi has terminal prostate cancer.  
6 Colonel Qaddafi promised, when greeting Mr. Megrahi, that **Britain** would be rewarded for letting him go.

Concordance 5.2.8: Involved people and countries in the co-text of Megrahi’s release in the *NYT*

## Summary

Although *Libya* and *Qaddafi* were involved in different events in this period such as Libya’s dispute with Switzerland over the arrests of one of Qaddafi’s sons, Qaddafi’s election as a chairman of the African Union, his visit to Italy, buying weapons from Russia, and signing agreement with the European Union to slow illegal migration, in the *Guardian*, the majority of the unique words in this period were used in the co-text of the Lockerbie plane bombing, while the *NYT* focused on Libya’s *oil* and *nuclear* program and its relation with other countries, mainly *Israel* and *Iran*. Accordingly, the focus of both newspapers was a reflection of the interests of the countries where they are published, and was influenced by some other factors related to newsworthiness criteria that emphasize conflict and proximity.

The *Guardian*, being a national British newspaper, tends to give some focus to British news stories in addition to its coverage of international events, and so in the Libyan context, Megrahi’s release was a ‘critical’ event to be covered since it is considered as the worst terrorist attack in Britain's history as the corpus analysis showed. In terms of newsworthiness, Phillips (2015) argues that “a disaster at home will attract more detailed

and longer coverage than a bigger one far away” (p. 19). In the same vein, Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 42) also note that “what is newsworthy usually concerns the country, region or city in which the news is published”. In the *Guardian*, the event was categorized as ‘national’ in the headlines of the articles that discuss the decision of Megrahi’s release as concordance 5.2.9 shows.

National: Megrahi release: A question of compassion? How did Libya try to secure	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Business links: Libya pours millions into City	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Lockerbie bomber decision leaves SNP facing censure	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Downing Street: Brown accused of cowardice and	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Trade: British firms hope release will boost business	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Whitehall reaction: Miliband rejects claims of	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Analysis: Confusion as old and new Libya collide Libya's	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi release: Bomber's welcome sparks warning from UK and US:	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi puts Lockerbie appeal papers on website The man convicted of	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Brown finally admits support for Lockerbie bomber release	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Exclusive interview: Britain has nothing to hide, says	September 200
National: The new Libya: Ideology: Country's jihadis reject violence as leader bids	September 200
National: Reports of Megrahi's death in Tripoli denied Abdelbaset al-Megrahi, the	October 2009.b
National: Megrahi release: Profile: Kenny MacAskill: A singleminded reformer with	August 2009.txt
National: Megrahi case: Anglo-American relations: Rise of the new powers puts	September 200
National: Megrahi case: Political briefing: Brown's costly lack of courage Whatever	September 200

Concordance 5.2.9: Categorizing the news about Megrahi as ‘National’ in the Guardian

In spite of describing the decision of releasing Megrahi as Scottish, Britain was involved and frequently mentioned in this co-text. Wilkinson (2011) argues that although the decision of the release was taken on compassionate grounds, it appears to be extraordinary due to the seriousness of the terrorist crime involved pointing out that the UK government was able to exercise a veto over the release because of the UK major foreign policy and its wider security implications. However, the whole matter seems to be linked with oil, and how some institutions and elites in the West change their principles to win oil contracts; “ultimately, Megrahi’s release is such an affront to common sense that one can be forgiven for thinking that the Scots released him for the same reason many believe the Americans invaded Iraq: oil” (Hall, 2010, p. 268). In the *Guardian*, those who agree and disagree with the decision of the release were reported, providing balance in the story by introducing the opposing voices. For example, in the *Guardian*’s coverage of the release, the newspaper tended to cover the event by focusing not only on the British point of view, but also highlighting the American,

Scottish and even Libyan reaction on the decision of the release. However, the Libyan points of view were mentioned less than the other voices. Cushion (2012) argues that in the newsrooms of the UK, there is a built-in requirement to provide space for secondary voices. This means that there will be a space for oppositional reading although the elite source will be given more space and given the final words.

The unique words in the *NYT* also reflected the type of news covered and preferred by the newspaper in the Libyan co-text; for example *Israel* was one of the most frequent words in this period because it is seen as the US most reliable strategic partner in the Middle East, and at the time of conflicts, America sides always with Israel (El-Bendary, 2011) providing it with massive and unconditional financial, diplomatic, military and intelligence support. In addition, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is considered to be newsworthy, and so attracts the media and the public. Some main themes were mentioned in this period in the *NYT*, namely oil and nuclear weapons. Huliaras (2006) referred to some factors that influence the U.S. policy toward other countries especially the oil-rich ones; mainly the war on terror, and oil interests. Regarding the other discussed theme in the *NYT* in this period, the newspaper reflected the vital role of nuclear weapons in the U.S. national security policy and how they sometimes determine its relations with other countries (Buchan, 2002). Accordingly, the focus of the *NYT* in this period was, to a great extent, in harmony with the interests of the United States and its foreign policy. In addition, the two discussed topics, i.e. oil and nuclear weapons are considered to be newsworthy especially when accompanied with some other factors which include socio-economic factors, physical and cultural proximity to home (the U.S. in this case), and others.

The next section examines the unique words in the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

#### **5.2.1.2. Arabic Newspapers**

Investigating the unique words in period 1 in the two Arabic newspapers, I found that *Al-Khaleej* addressed local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where the newspaper is published and located. To verify this assumption, I carried out a cluster analysis for the frequent words *الشيخ* *Shaikh*, *دولة* *state*, *الدولة* *the state*, and *مليون* *million*, and found that they are mentioned in the co-texts of the UAE, its leaders, and government.

For example, the title word *الشيخ Shaikh*, which is commonly given in the UAE to a royal male at birth and members of the ruling family, was used in *Al-Khaleej* in different clusters. *Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan*, the President of the United Arab Emirates and the Emir of Abu Dhabi, and *Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid*, the Vice President, and constitutional monarch of Dubai, were the most frequent two mentioned people in the newspaper. The words *دولة state* and *الدولة the state* also referred to the UAE in more than 90% of the cases. For example, *رئيس الدولة* which is translated as *Head of State* referred to Sheikh Khalifa, the president of the UAE, and *سفير الدولة the state's Ambassador* referred to one of the UAE's Ambassadors. The same is applicable for the other clusters included in table 5.2.4.

Table 5.2.4: Cluster analysis of *الدولة the state* in *Al-Khaleej*

Al-Khaleej (الدولة the state)	
Translation	Cluster
Head of the state	رئيس الدولة
The State's Vice president	نائب رئيس الدولة
The State's Ambassador	سفير الدولة
Minister of the State	وزير الدولة
Emirates of the State	إمارات الدولة
Embassy of the State	سفارة الدولة
State budget	ميزانية الدولة
State Security	أمن الدولة

Pan Arab news was also present in *Al-Khaleej's* coverage as the word *القمة the summit* shows. The newspaper covered some news about the Arab League summits in Qatar 2009 and Libya 2010, the Arab-African summit in Sirte/Libya 2010, and the Africa-EU summit in Libya 2010.

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, most of the unique words reflect pan-Arab issues; for example the word *القمة the summit* referred mainly to the Arab League summits and the word *وزير minister* referred in the majority of cases to Arab ministers. I also analysed the other unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* which include *السلام peace*, *دارفور Darfur*, *السودان Sudan*, and *إسرائيل Israel*, and found that they are mainly related to pan-Arab issues. Carrying out a collocational analysis for the unique word *peace*, I found that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the peace talks in the Middle East, and the conflict in Darfur (a region in south Sudan) dominated the usage of the word in this period. *Israel* was also among the unique words in *Asharq Al-*

*Awsat* as the Arab-Israel case is considered as one of the oldest and most dominant conflicts in the Middle East. Dowty (2008) describes it as “the perfect conflict... a conflict with more self-generating power for continued devastation and destruction” (p. 222) with both parties having a strong sense of victimhood. The Israeli aggression on Gaza, the Israeli settlement, and the Arab peace treaties with Israel were heavily covered in *Asharq Al-Awsat*.

Most of the main covered events in *Asharq Al-Awsat* in this period especially the conflict in Darfur and the Israeli attack on Gaza have some aspects of negativity, drama and importance, and so are considered to be newsworthy. The geographical and cultural proximity (Bednarek, 2016) was also one of the factors that determined the type of news in both newspapers; i.e. for them the priority of presenting domestic and regional events comes before the other news of the world. For example, the Arab summits were densely covered by both Arab newspapers because the Arab League’s activities represent events that all of the Arab countries are involved in, and the decisions taken at these events affect the Arab public and attract their attention.

## Summary

The unique words analysis of *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* showed that the former mainly focused on covering pan-Arab issues, while the latter focused on UAE national news although it sometimes included pan-Arab stories. Based on the newspaper’s website, *Al-Khaleej* aims to emphasize the idea of unity in the Arab Gulf region that combines national belongings and Arabic roots. Accordingly, some pan Arab issues were also covered in *Al-Khaleej* especially if the UAE was involved; for example, the different Arab League summits were referred to frequently in this period. The discussed themes in *Asharq Al-Awsat* shows how it, being a pan-Arab newspaper, tends to address the entire Arab world on Arab issues that draw the attention of most Arab people. According to Yushi (2012), pan-Arab newspapers play a critical and vital role in “keeping their readers in touch with pan-Arab issues” (p. 55). This aspect will be useful at later stages in periods 2 and 3 when comparing how national and pan-Arab newspapers cover the uprisings that have affected most of the Arab countries.

Based on the unique words analysis of the four newspapers, it can be observed that although the English and Arabic corpora were built using the same query terms, the main themes

discussed in each of them were different, perhaps due to different factors that include the agendas of the newspapers, their sources, and the policies of the countries where they are located and mainly published.

The next section highlights some of the differences between the investigated newspapers by carrying out a keyword analysis.

### 5.2.2. Keyword Analysis

I carried out a keyword analysis for period 1 (2009/2010) in both English and Arabic newspapers by comparing the *NYT* and the *Guardian* against each other (table 5.2.5), and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* against each other (table 5.2.8) in order to answer the following research question:

**3/A:** What does a keyword analysis reveal about the most salient themes in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* when compared against each other on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* when compared against each other on the other hand in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt* in the pre-uprisings era (2009/2010)?

#### 5.2.2.1. English newspapers

As mentioned in chapter 4, some keywords in table 5.2.5 below occurred only because they are related to the style of the newspaper (*Mr.* in the *NYT*), the country where the newspaper is located and mainly published (*UK* and *British* in the *Guardian*, and *United*, *States*, and *American* in the *NYT*), and spelling differences between British and American English (*labour*, *defence*, *programme*, *centre*, and *organisation*).

Table 5.2.5: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 1 (2009/2010)

Period 1 (Keywords Analysis)			
The Guardian		The NYT	
Key word	Freq.	Key word	Freq.
UK	465	MR	1,981
YESTERDAY	336	UNITED	862
POUNDS	341	STATES	684

UN	295	PAGE	488
BT	173	SAID	2,371
GUARDIAN	173	MS	186
ABDELBASET	143	AMERICAN	538
BRITISH	585	NUCLEAR	515
LABOUR	173	COLLNE	214
CAPTIONS	118	PROGRAM	157
BLAIR	154	NATIONS	349
QAIDA	98	OFFICIALS	471
DEFENCE	97	YORK	346
IRA	104	CENTER	93
PROGRAMME	85	ORGANIZATION	93
MEGRAHI	757	COL	104
CENTRE	80	QAEDA	84
DEGHAYES	77	ADMINISTRATION	258
SNP	69	NEW	909
EU	104	PRESIDENT	541
ORGANISATION	62	WEAPONS	236
SIR	81	IRAN	373
MACASKILL	197	KHAN	170
FOOTBALL	72	TIMES	288
EVIDENCE	206	PROGRAMS	52
STRAW	123	PAKISTAN	319
SCOTTISH	499	ABDEL	73
TONY	106	BASSET	57
BROWN	273	ORGANIZATIONS	50
ICC	43	PAKISTANI	138

Based on the keyword list in table 5.2.5, there were two countries that were referred to more frequently in the *NYT* when compared to the *Guardian*, namely, *Iran* and *Pakistan*. The decision of Megrahi's release was more covered in the *Guardian* when compared to the *NYT* as the keywords *Abdelbaset*, *Blair*, *IRA*, *Megrahi*, *SNP*, *MacAskill*, *Straw*, *Scottish*, *Tony* and *evidence* show. Since the unique word section examined the representation of *Megrahi* in the two newspapers, in this section, I investigate Libya's *nuclear* program and its relations with some other countries especially *Iran* and *Pakistan*.

In order to investigate the most frequent collocates with the keyword ***nuclear***, and uncover the similarities and differences of how both newspapers referred to nuclear issues, I carried out patterns analyses as shown in tables 5.2.6 (*The NYT*) and 5.2.7 (*The Guardian*). Patterns

show the most frequent collocates in their positions to the right and left of the investigated word (Scott, 2010).

Table 5.2.6: Patterns analysis for *Nuclear* in the NYT

Patterns analysis for <i>Nuclear</i> in the NYT								
L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
Iran	Iran	Pakistan	civilian	nuclear	weapons	program	weapons	programs
Pakistan	world	Iran	selling		program	network	Iran	countries
	give	country	Pakistani		technology	chemical		khan
	Pakistan	spread	international		power	treaty		
	Libya		illicit		proliferation	review		
			sold		arsenal			
					ambitions			
					arms			
					secrets			
					bomb			
					terrorism			
					warheads			
					security			
					inspectors			
					fuel			
					scientist			
					reactor			
					disarmament			

Table 5.2.7: Patterns analysis for *Nuclear* in the Guardian

Patterns analysis for <i>Nuclear</i> in the Guardian								
L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
Iran		Iran	selling	nuclear	weapons	programme	Iran	
Khan	Libya	Pakistan			programme	network	Libya	
		countries			proliferation			
					bomb			
					ambitions			
					missile			
					technology			
					terrorism			

Examining the countries that were mentioned in the co-text of the keyword *nuclear* in the *NYT*, it appears that the United States is concerned about the nuclear program of *Iran* and the expanding nuclear arsenal of *Pakistan*. The purpose for that concern is said to be achieving regional stability and global non-proliferation, in addition to the roles that such weapons play in threatening the international security environment (Davis & Pfaltzgraff, 2013). Both countries are viewed in the newspaper as significant contributors to regional instability and global proliferation. To see which countries are said to have nuclear



ambition, I carried out a concordance analysis for the R1 collocate *ambitions*, and found that the phrase *nuclear ambitions* was mainly mentioned with *Pakistan*, *Libya*, and *Iran*. Regarding the Libyan case, it was pointed out that Qaddafi's giving up his *nuclear ambition* was part of Libya's rehabilitation process and a good step in the right direction. The US officials took the Libyan case to express their hope that some other countries such as *North Korea* and *Iran* will follow its model in giving up their nuclear ambition. It is also argued that if these countries did so, the U.S. and its allies would offer valuable economic, diplomatic and security incentives for them. To check the countries that the *NYT* describes to have illicit nuclear material, I investigated the L1 collocate *illicit*, and found that it was used in the co-texts of the countries that have *nuclear ambitions*. It was also used with the Pakistani scientist *Abdul Qadeer Khan* who is said to run an “illicit global nuclear proliferation network”, and is described as a “rogue scientist” and a “pariah” who sold technology to *Iran*, *Libya*, and *North Korea*.

In the *Guardian*, *Iran*, *Pakistan*, and *Libya* were also frequent collocates with *nuclear*. *Libya* was mainly used in two co-texts, namely: Khan's involvement in providing equipment and expertise to some countries including *Libya*, and the British role in convincing Qaddafi to renounce *Libya's* nuclear program. The R1 collocate *ambitions* was used to emphasize the point of view of the British officials who claimed that they only normalized the relations with *Libya* after it gave up its nuclear ambitions, not to take benefit of *Libya's* lucrative oil and gas contracts. Accordingly and based on the analysis above, it appears that the coverage of the nuclear issue in the *NYT* and the *Guardian* is to some extent in harmony with the American and British governments' policies and points of view regarding the involved countries. In addition to this, they positively portrayed the countries where they are located and mainly published, and described them as the ones that care about the security of the world, when compared to some other countries that try to threaten the international security environment and regional stability; of course with a double standard, as the UK and USA are among the largest holders of nuclear weapon stockpiles. Since the issue of nuclear weapons is important in terms of international affairs, and usually involves questions of national security and intelligence, the media are more likely to amplify the agendas and policies of their countries regarding this matter, and so their criticism is probably more implicit than explicit. Phillips (2015) highlights that in most democratic countries, the freedom of journalism from state interference is widely agreed upon. However, there are some constraints on this in some

circumstances; for example to maintain national security. In such cases, press freedom seems to be a matter for negotiation with the state.

Since **Iran** was a keyword country in the *NYT*, further investigation was made to see why it is frequent/ salient in a corpus about Libya. The findings showed that *Iran* is frequently mentioned in the co-texts of its nuclear program and its danger to the Middle East region as some collocates show, namely, *nuclear*, *program*, and *sanctions*. The governments of *Iran*, *North Korea* and *Libya* were described to be the world's most “nefarious and dangerous”. In the *Guardian*, *Libya*, *NK*, and *Iran* were mentioned in the co-text of *Iraq*, where the British foreign secretary, Straw, said that the case of *Iraq* was thin when compared to these countries. He justified this by saying that Saddam Hussein was not threatening his neighbours and his WMD capability was less than these three countries. Accordingly, it appears that the *NYT* tends to categorize countries based on their relations with the United States, when compared to the *Guardian* which paid less attention to this.

To see how both newspapers referred to the keyword **Pakistan**, I carried out a dispersion analysis for the word based on its normalized frequency per million words (graph 5.2.1), and found that the *NYT* and the *Guardian* had almost the same number of hits for *Pakistan* in March 2009. Investigating the context, it is found that the Sri Lankan cricket team and officials were fired upon by 12 gunmen near Qaddafi Stadium in Lahore (BBC, 2009). This caused the death of 6 Pakistani policemen and two civilians, and the injury of 6 members of the Sri Lankan cricket team (BBC, 2009).

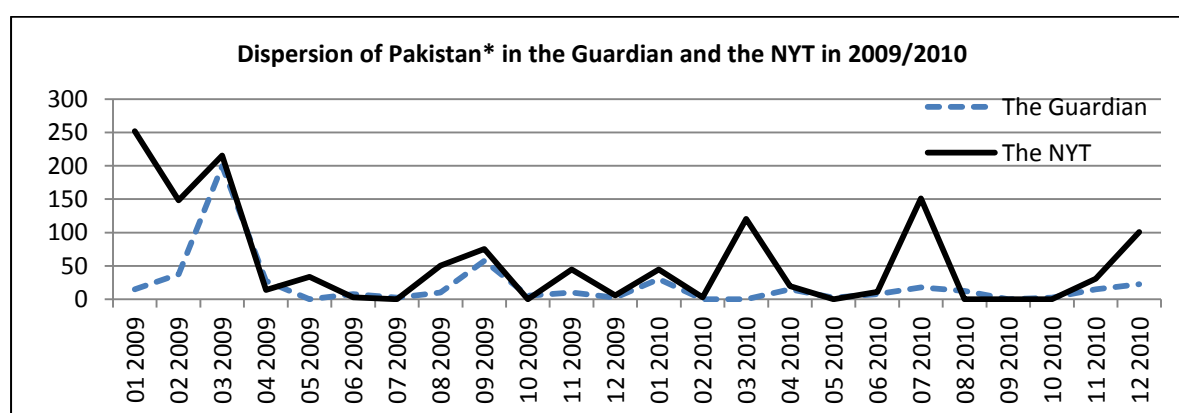


Figure 5.2.1: Dispersion of *Pakistan\** in the *NYT* and the *Guardian* in 2009/2010

Carrying out a concordance analysis for *Pakistan*\* in this month, I found that the *NYT* covered the event in its relation to terrorism, and took it as an excuse to criticize the safety situation in *Pakistan* portraying it as the place where many terrorists are trained. The *Guardian* covered the issue from a different perspective concentrating more on how the event might affect the popularity and future of cricket in *Pakistan* being the most popular game there. In one of its headlines, the *Guardian* covered the event as a “day of cricket that turned into 30 minutes of terror” reflecting how the *Pakistan's* blameless cricketers are in desperate need for support. The *Guardian* also heavily reported some Pakistani players who expressed their concern that the cricket will not return to *Pakistan* in a hurry and the future for this “cricket-mad” nation was all but over.

## Summary

The findings of the keyword analysis of the two English newspapers confirmed the results of the frequency analysis, where the decision of *Megrahi's* release dominated the news in the *Guardian*, while Libya's relations with other countries especially *Iran* and *Pakistan* and its *nuclear* program were densely covered in the *NYT*. For example, the words *Brown*, *Blair*, *Scottish*, *Straw*, *evidence*, *MacAskill*, *SNP*, *Megrahi*, and *Abdelbaset* were keywords in the former, while *Pakistan*, *Pakistani*, *Khan*, *Iran*, *weapons*, and *nuclear* were keywords in the latter. *Megrahi's* case, as mentioned in the unique words analysis, was densely covered in the *Guardian* because it is considered as a British national issue, while the keywords in the *NYT* show the American interests in nuclear power, and the spread of uranium enrichment technology to some countries including Pakistan, Iran, and Libya as some other studies showed (see Albright & Hinderstein, 2005; Kroenig, 2009). The two newspapers were more interested in covering Libya's activities and involvement in the international arena rather than its participation in pan-Aran and national activities. Libya, as shown in the corpus analysis, was involved in some main (international) issues related to nuclear weapons, oil, and violence. In an increasingly commercialized global media market, these aspects are more newsworthy than others bearing in mind that news is becoming a commodity and news values are market-led. Strong Western media companies have “the power, reach, and influence to set and then rebuild the global news agenda that reflects Western geo-strategic and economic interests” (Thussu, 2000, p. 325). Since news is seen as a commodity, news about some events cannot be sold, and so might be represented in a distorted way to make them more marketable. This commodification process may result in reporting some serious

issues, in the developing countries, in a simplistic version. Thussu (2000, p. 329) argues that “there is a steady underpinning of the cultural, economic, and political progress being made by developing countries”. This might explain why Libya’s internal situation was rarely reported or commented on in the two English newspapers. A similar conclusion was reached by Richardson (2004) who examined the British broadsheets’ reporting of Algeria, and found that it was ‘framed’ as a country of conflict, war, and death, while the Algerian internal issues, and the cultural lives of Algerians received minimal and scant coverage.

The next section highlights some differences between the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

#### 5.2.2.2. Arabic newspapers

As mentioned in chapter 4, some Arabic keywords in table 5.2.8 below occurred due to spelling differences (أميركية/الأميركي/الأميركية American, اميركا America, الأفريقي/الأفريقية African, and أفريقيا Africa), while others appeared in the list because they relate to the names of the newspapers (الشرق Asharq and الأوسط Al-Awsat in Asharq Al-Awsat) or the countries where the newspapers are located and mainly published (الإمارات Emirates, الشارقة Sharjah, دبي Dubai, أبوظبي Abu Dhabi, درهم Dirham, زايد Zayed, نهيان Nahyan, and راشد Rashid in Al-Khaleej). If we exclude the words that occurred due to these three reasons, Iran would be the only non-Arab country mentioned in the list, and so further investigation is made to see how it was represented. I also analyse the Keyword Megrahi in this section to see if there are any similarities/differences in the coverage of the Arabic and English newspapers to the decision of the release.

Table 5.2.8: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 1 (2009/2010)

Period 1 (Keywords Analysis)					
Asharq Al-Awsat			Al-Khaleej		
Freq.	Key	Trans.	Freq.	Key	Trans.
921	الأميركية	US	2,338	العالم	World
1,842	الأوسط	Middle	2,240	الرئيس	President
723	حركة	movement	2,835	الإمارات	Emirates
784	الأفريقي	African	1,610	البطولة	Tournament
684	الأميركي	American	1,265	الأمريكية	US
2,797	القذافي	Qaddafi	1,131	الشارقة	Sharjah
1,892	الشرق	East	1,610	دبي	Dubai

684	أفريقيا	Africa	942	العامة	General
524	الأفريقية	African	980	الأمريكي	US
3,291	ليبيا	Libya	1,567	الفريق	Team
1,801	عبد	Abdul	835	عبدالله	Abdullah
318	أميركا	America	1,049	أبوظبي	Abu Dhabi
415	سورية	Syria	1,158	المباراة	The match
674	العقيد	Colonel	1,036	إفريقيا	Africa
891	إيران	Iran	996	درهم	Dirham
1,868	الليبية	Libyan	1,142	المنتخب	National Team
1,588	الحكومة	government	747	السمو	Highness
421	صدام	Saddam	657	الجزائر	Algeria
2,395	الرئيس	President	824	زايد	Zayed
374	قائلا	Saying	816	مباراة	Match
1,578	القمة	Summit	558	قطر	Qatar
707	المقروحي	Megrahi	739	الفني	Technical
162	أميركية	American	869	الأهلي	Ahli
767	البشير	Bashir	587	نهيان	Nahyan
472	مشيرا	Pointing	736	كأس	Cup
284	الجماعة	Group	463	السلطات	Authorities
980	دارفور	Darfur	540	أمريكا	America
1,071	السلام	Peace	682	اللاعبين	Players
249	لادن	Laden	444	سموه	His Highness
368	المصادر	Sources	560	راشد	Rashid

Going through the keywords in *Al-Khaleej*, it can be observed that the newspaper focused in its coverage on the local issues in the UAE, as the keywords *الإمارات UAE*, *الشارقة Sharjah*, *دبي Dubai*, *درهم Dirham*, *أبوظبي Abu Dhabi*, *زايد Zayed*, *راشد Rashid* and *نهيان Nahyan* show. The keywords *البطولة tournament*, *فريق team*, *مباراة match*, *الفني technical*, *المنتخب national team*, and *الأهلي Al-Ahli* were mainly used in the context of national or international sport activities. The keywords in *Asharq Al-Awsat* show the newspaper's interest in covering political rather than economic or sport-related news. For example, the different Arab summits, some pan Arab issues such as Darfur conflict in Sudan and the arrest warrant against the Sudanese president (Al-Bashir), the Palestinian Israeli conflict and the war on Gaza, the role of Iran in the region, the situation in Iraq, and Megrahi's release were densely covered.

To examine how *ايران Iran* was referred to in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, I examined its statistically strongest 20 collocates, and found that both newspapers are interested in

covering news about *Iran's* nuclear program as well as the Western sanctions imposed on it. Carrying out a concordance analysis for *Iran* in *Al-Khaleej*, I found that it was mentioned as a part of the following sentence about 90 times (concordance 5.2.10).

وتضم سلة أوبك 12 نوعا من النفط الخام . وهذه الخامات هي مزيج صخاري جزائري وجيراسول الانجولي والابراني النقييل والبصرة الخفيف العراقي وخام التصدير الكويتي والسدر الليبي وبوني الخفيف النيجيري والخام البحري القطري والعربي الخفيف السعودي ومربان الاماراتي وميري الفنزويلي وأورينت من الاكوادور  
The new **OPEC** Reference Basket of Crudes (ORB) is made up of the following: Saharan Blend (Algeria), Girassol (Angola), Oriente (Ecuador), **Iran Heavy (Islamic Republic of Iran)**, Basra Light (Iraq), Kuwait Export (Kuwait), Es Sider (Libya), Bonny Light (Nigeria), Qatar Marine (Qatar), Arab Light (Saudi Arabia), Murban (UAE) and Merey (Venezuela).

Concordance 5.2.10: *Iran* as a member of OPEC in *Al-Khaleej*

In *Al-Khaleej*, the focus was mainly on the tension between *Iran*, being described as the fourth largest oil exporter in the world and a member of OPEC, and the West and how this constitutes one of the most important factors behind the rise/fall of oil prices. Some collocates with *Iran* in *Al-Khaleej* such as *طنب Tunbs*, *الجزر islands*, *احتلال occupation*, *الصغرى lesser*, *الكبرى greater*, and *الجزيرتين two islands* refer to the dispute between the UAE and *Iran* over islands in the Persian Gulf, currently administered by *Iran*, but are also claimed by the UAE. *Asharq Al-Awsat* densely covered *Iran's* influence in some Arab capitals, mainly Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad, and Manama. For example, the newspaper tended to compare the nature of relation between Iraq and *Iran* before and after 2003. It also focused on how the American invasion to Iraq led *Iran* to “deliberately” develop a vision of relatively clear strategic interests there, and build solid economic, social, cultural, and political pillars to serve and keep its interests in the region.

Examining how the two Arabic newspapers covered the issue of *Megrahi's* release, I categorized the statistically strongest collocates with the keyword *المقرحي Megrahi* into five thematic groups as table 5.2.9 shows.

Table 5.2.9: Thematic categories for the collocates of *المقرحي Megrahi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*

The Collocates of <i>المقرحي Megrahi</i>		
Thematic Category	<i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>	<i>Al-Khaleej</i>
The main Event	بتفجير ، طائرة، قضية، لوكيربي bombing, plane, case, Lockerbie	بتفجير ، تفجير ، طائرة، قضية، لوكربي (in) bombing, plane, case, Lockerbie

<b>Description of Megrahi</b>	الباسط، الليبي، المدان، المصاب، ليبي، المواطن، أدين، لعبد، أسرة Basset, Libyan, the convicted, suffering from, Libya, citizen, was convicted, Abdul, family	الباسط، المدان، الوحيد، أدين، عبد، عبدالباسط، يعاني Basset, the convicted, the only, was convicted, Abdul, AbdulBasset, suffers from
<b>Involved countries and people</b>	الاسكوتلندية، السلطات، بريطانيا Scottish, authorities, Britain	اسكتلندا، الاسكتلندي، الاسكتلندية، البريطانية، بريطانيا Scotland, Scottish (masc./ fem.), British, Britain
<b>The decision and how it was described</b>	الإفراج، إطلاق، بالسجن، حكم، سراح، للإفراج، السجن release, release, prison, sentenced, released, to release, prison	الإفراج، السجن، إخلاء، إدانة، إطلاق، سجنه، سراح، عقوبة release, prison, release, conviction, release, imprisonment, release, penalty
<b>Justifications for the release</b>	البروستاتا، إنسانية، حالة، بسرطان، لأسباب prostate, humanitarian, state, cancer, reasons	البروستاتا، إنسانية، سرطان، لأسباب prostate, humanitarian, cancer, reasons

**The main event.** To check how the main event was described in both newspapers, I generated concordance lines for *Lockerbie*, and sorted them two words to the left and came with different expressions. These include *اعتداء لوكيربي* “Lockerbie crisis”, *ازمة لوكيربي* “Lockerbie assault”, *مأساة لوكيربي* “Lockerbie disaster”, *تفجير لوكيربي* “Lockerbie bombing”, and *ضحايا لوكيربي* “Lockerbie victims”. Some information about the number of victims, the number of the flight, and the name of the airplane was also mentioned. Therefore, it appears that both newspapers referred to the event in a similar way, and labelled what happened in a neutral way, providing the readers with background information about the event itself, where it happened, and its consequences.

**Description of Megrahi.** *Megrahi* in a good number of incidents in both newspapers was described as “the Libyan citizen Megrahi whose age is 57” without having any negative descriptions. However, he was sometimes described as the one “accused of bombing airplane over Lockerbie in 1988”. Unlike the English newspapers, *Asharq Al-Awsat* heavily reported the opinions of *Megrahi*’s family; his wife, father, brothers, and cousins. Investigating how *Megrahi*’s wife saw the whole event, I found that she frequently talked about her husband’s “poor” health conditions saying that he is “in his last days”, and claiming that her husband *ضحى بنفسه* “sacrificed himself” for the entire Libyan people. A nephew of *Megrahi* said that his uncle’s absence had a “bad impact” on his family, and stated that he could observe how *Megrahi*’s children longed to say the word “dad”. *Megrahi*’s father said that his son was supposed to be released from the beginning, but the

United States intervened using its influence to keep him in custody. He further claimed that the main reason behind this is to blackmail Libya because it has oil. Regarding the hero's welcome of *Megrahi*, a cousin of *Megrahi* said that his reception in Tripoli was "spontaneous" claiming that all Libyans believed that the Lockerbie case is a battle that "the wise Libyan leadership" won.

In its coverage, *Al-Khaleej* reported some Libyan officials who described *Megrahi* as one of the mujahedeen (holy fighters) who deserves appreciation as he made a great "sacrifice" for his country considering his release as a victory of Libya. It is also reported that *Megrahi* is working on a book about his life in prison and will reveal all of what he knows about the plane's bombing without any help or interference from the Libyan government to show that he was the "scapegoat" in an international conspiracy set by the West. Accordingly, the two Arabic newspapers seem to take the side of *Megrahi* reporting some members of his family in an emotional way. This might affect how the readers receive the whole issue where the "bomber" is portrayed as the oppressed, while those who put them in prison for 8½ years as oppressors caring mainly about their interests. This underlying discourse of an oppressed Arab against the dominant West is common in the literature (Alterman, 1998; Galal, Galander, & Auter, 2008; Said, 1978, 1981; Zogby & Zogby, 2004).

**Involved countries.** Investigating how the collocates اسكوتلندا *Scotland* and الاسكوتلندي *Scottish* were used in both newspapers; I found that *Scotland* was referred to as the place where the event happened, the place where *Megrahi* was jailed, and the place from which he was released. It is reported that the *Scottish* authorities are the ones that released *Megrahi* on humanitarian grounds not on the basis of medical reports funded by Tripoli. The *Scottish* government also denied making any contacts with the British oil company, BP, before taking the decision. Regarding the collocate *Britain*; *Asharq Al-Awsat* mentioned that many Libyans think that there was a link between the release of *Megrahi* and the future of the British companies' investment in Libya. In *Al-Khaleej*, *Britain* was referred to, in some incidents, as the place where *Megrahi* is jailed, and some Libyan officials thanked the British not the Scottish government for releasing *Megrahi* claiming that such decision will be useful for all. As in the *NYT*, the two Arabic newspapers linked the release of *Megrahi* with the British oil contracts, and London is said to be afraid of sabotaging its commercial interests with Tripoli if *Megrahi* died in the prison in *Scotland*. By doing so, the newspapers



negatively represent some European countries, and highlight how hungry they are for the Libyan oil.

**The decision and how it was described.** In both newspapers, the words *افراج/الفرج* *release* and their derivatives were mainly used with *Scotland*, the country that took the decision, *Britain*, the country that was accused of being involved in taking the decision, *America*, the country that strongly criticized the decision, and *Libya*, the country that was accused of committing the bombing. The two newspapers tended in most cases in their coverage to quote others on the decision of the release and very rarely commented on the event itself, for example by including opinion pieces. The Scottish, British, American, and Libyan different opinions were densely covered. For example, Scotland claimed that the decision was not based on political, economic or diplomatic considerations, and that the country took the right decision for the right reasons. The US government and families expressed their wrath and severe criticism, and discussed whether there were some motivations other than *Megrahi's* health conditions behind the decision or not. The Libyan government claimed that the release will significantly enhance the relations between Britain and the Arab world as a whole. The two newspapers also highlighted the scene of *Megrahi's* reception and some of its consequences. To criticize the reactions of the British and American governments on the release, *Al-Khaleej* quoted some news agencies which said that Washington and London's anger on the reception of *Megrahi* is artificial and went in line with the anger that was created by the US and Western media which re-excited the public opinion in the West against the release of a "murderer who committed one of the worst terrorist operations in modern history".

**Justifications for the release.** In both newspapers, *Megrahi's* release was mainly connected with his poor health conditions. Some phrases such as *يعاني من السرطان في مراحله الاخيرة* "suffering from cancer in its final stages", *مصاب بسرطان البروستاتا في مراحل متقدمة* "suffering from prostate cancer in advanced stages" and *لاسباب انسانية محضة* "was released on purely humanitarian reasons" were frequent in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. The newspaper also quoted *The Independent* to show how the British government was surprised by the negative response of the US administration after the release of *Megrahi* on compassionate grounds. *Al-Khaleej* repeatedly reported that Scotland freed the Libyan *Megrahi* for health reasons as he was suffering from advanced stages of prostate cancer, and his doctors announced that his health

deteriorated. *Al-Khaleej* also kept repeating that *Megrahi* was suffering from سرطان خبيث جدا “very malignant cancer”, اكتئاب “depression” and ألم حاد “acute pain” and wanted to spend some time with his family and die in his own country. By emotionalizing the event, the two Arabic newspapers contribute to reducing the criticism against the decision of the release, and highlight that it was the most suitable decision to be taken.

## Summary

As in English, the Arabic keyword analysis confirmed the results of the frequency analysis where *Al-Khaleej* mainly focused on covering UAE related news, while *Asharq Al-Awsat* covered more pan-Arab news. The keyword analysis also showed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* covered Libya’s involvement in some activities in the international arena more than *Al-Khaleej* as the keyword *Megrahi* showed. Koeppel (1988) argues that the pan-Arab London-based newspapers including *Asharq Al-Awsat* are entirely different from the domestic/national newspapers, either in style or content or both. Pan-Arab newspapers seem to be more liberal than local newspapers although both face interference from the government. Such interference is indirect in the case of the former as they are located outside the borders of the Arab countries. Moreover, the keyword analysis contributed to understanding some of the differences between national and pan-Arab newspapers’ coverage to some events and their representation to some countries and people as the analysis of the keyword *Iran* showed. Based on the corpus analysis, it appears that most Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia where *Asharq Al-Awsat* is mainly published, have huge concerns about *Iran*’s expanding regional influence. This conflict can be seen as a rivalry between the leading Sunni power represented by Saudi Arabia and its economic and political rival of Shia *Iran*. Hagood (2010) argues that both countries have used the media as a platform to win the hearts and minds of their populations, reshape their discourse, and legitimize their actions. *Iran*’s influence is sourced from its anti-Americanism policies and support for some Arab countries on their wars against Israel, while Saudi Arabia expands its influence from highlighting *Iran*’s nuclear program danger on the whole region. Regarding the UAE and despite its long-standing dispute with *Iran* over three islands, *Al-Khaleej* paid much attention to mainly the effect of the sanctions imposed on Iran on the price of oil and the country’s economic relations with others.

The keyword analysis of the Arabic and English newspapers shows that the focus of the four newspapers is different. This over- or under-reporting of some events seems to be systematic. Sometimes, it is aligned with the policies and interests of the countries where they are based and published, and other times is influenced by some other media factors related to the preferences of the audience, the institutional practices, and the interests of publishers (Altschull, 1997).

Section 5.2.4 highlights some of the similarities/differences between the English and Arabic newspapers' coverage of some events in general, and their coverage of the decision of releasing *Megrahi* in particular.

The next section explores how *Qaddafi* is represented in this period.

### **5.2.3. The main investigated person in the study (Qaddafi)**

This section's main focus is to uncover how *Qaddafi* is represented in the four newspapers in the pre-uprisings period, and so it contributes to answering the following research question:

**4/A:** What does a collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* and other related terms in the pre-uprisings period reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published?

To see whether the incidents of *Qaddafi* were distributed equally across the whole period in the English and Arabic newspapers, I created dispersion plots which show where the search term (*Qaddafi* in this case) occurs in the investigated corpus. Graphs 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 below, which were created based on the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words, show a constant use to *Qaddafi* in period 1 in the *Guardian* and the *NYT* on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* on the other one. Investigating the context to interpret the different sub-peak in graphs 5.2.2, I found that in February 2009, *Qaddafi* was announced as the chair of the African Union, and proposed the United States of Africa. In June 2009, *Qaddafi* visited Italy for the first time. In August 2009, *Megrahi* was freed on

compassionate grounds and returned to Libya. In September 2009, *Qaddafi* visited the U.S. for the first time and delivered a long speech at the UN General Assembly.

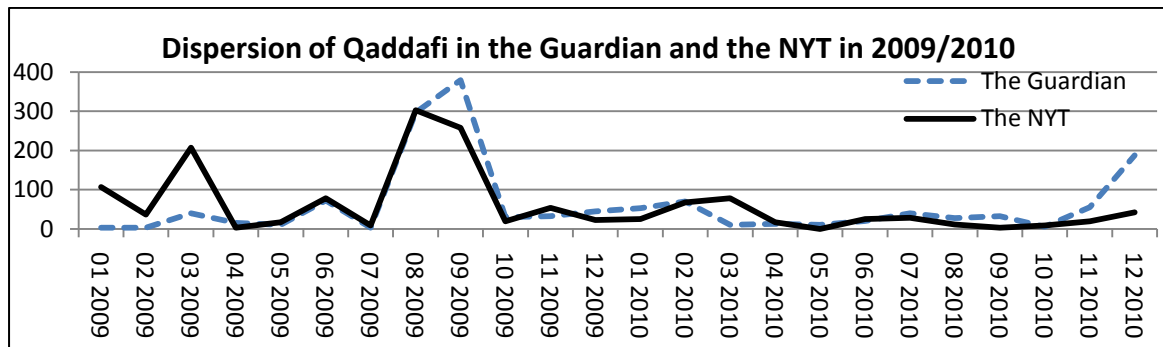


Figure 5.2.2: Dispersion of *Qaddafi* in the English newspapers in 2009/2010

Graph 5.2.3 shows that different types of events seem to draw the attention of the Arab media. For example, there was a dramatic increase in the use of *Qaddafi* in March 2009 as an Arab League summit was held in Qatar. In August 2009, Megrahi was freed. In September 2009, *Qaddafi* delivered a historic 100 minute speech at the UN general assembly. In March 2010, the 22<sup>nd</sup> Arab League Summit was held in Sirte, Libya. Different events happened in July 2010, such as the BP's confirmation that it is about to begin drilling off the Libyan coast.

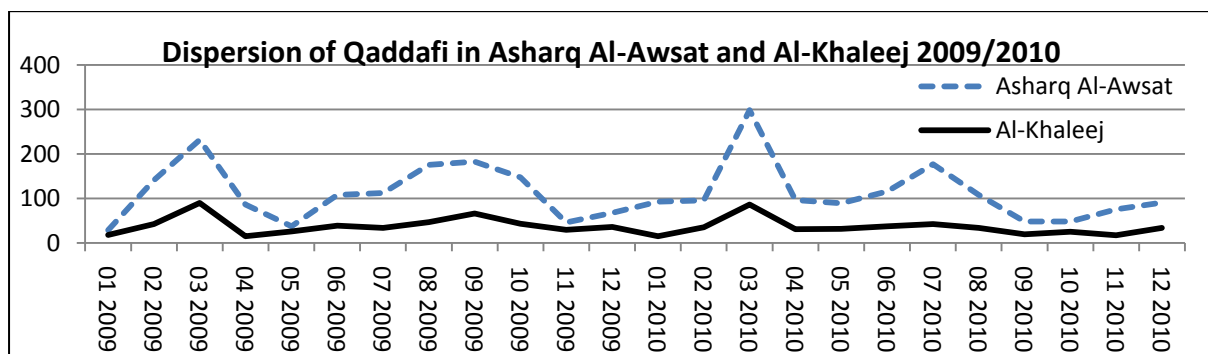


Figure 5.2.3: Dispersion of *القذافي Qaddafi* in the Arabic newspapers in 2009/2010

To uncover the differences and similarities between how the Arabic and English newspapers under investigation referred to *Qaddafi*, I used Lancaster's and Stanford's POS taggers to divide the statistically strongest 50 collocates with *Qaddafi* into 5 categories. These categories include adjectives, verbs, proper nouns, singular nouns, and plural nouns as table 5.2.10 shows.

Table 5.2.10: POS categories for the collocates of *Qaddafi* in period 1

POS categories for the collocates of Qaddafi (Period 1)				
POS	Eng.	Collocates	Ara.	Collocates
Verbs	NYT	called, heaped, offered, tried, left, pitched, paid, ruled, agreed, attempted, arrested, told, wanted, appears	Sh.	دعا، ودعا، أكد، أعلن، التقى، وأكد، واعتبر، يدعو، يترأس called, and called, confirmed, announced, met, stressed, considered, calls, heads
	Guar.	called, met, left, raised, named	Kh.	دعا، استقبل، التقى، أعلن، أكد، يطالب، أعرب، يبحث، يدعو، يلتقي، يتحدث called, received, met, announced, stressed out, demands, expressed, looks for, asks, meets, speaks
Singular nouns	NYT	praise, minute, son, colonel, leader, brother, chairman, head, president, government, address, speech, tent, visit, west, supporter, change, plan	Sh.	الرئيس، نجل، العقيد، مؤسسة، الزعيم، للتنمية، توقيف، المهندس، القائد، رئيس، والزعيم، الاتحاد، طلب، رسالة، وزوجته، مسؤول، القمة، زيارته، اعتقال، رئاسة، الثورة، دعوة، الحكومة، قمة، خطابه، قوله president, son, colonel, institution, leader, development, arrest, Eng., the leader, chairman, commander, union, request, message, his wife, official, the summit, his visit, arrest, presidency, revolution, call, government, summit, his speech, his statement
	Guar.	colonel, leader, son, dictator, family, arrest, regime, coup, tent, profile, assassination, pariah, Bedouin, summit, status, speech, revolution, affair, visit	Kh.	العقيد، نجل، قائد، الزعيم، الثورة، مؤسسة، رسالة، دعوة، القائد، للاتحاد، الرئيس، الفاتح، كلمة، زيارته، ابن، قضية، القمة، الأخ، لقائه، للتنمية colonel, son, commander, leader, revolution, institution, message, call, the leader, union, president, conqueror, his visit, son, case, summit, brother, his meeting, development
Adj.	NYT	Libyan, personal, long, political, absurd, Swiss, African	Sh.	الليبي، الليبية، الأفريقي، رسمية، الخيرية، ليبية، أول، العالمية Libyan, Libyan, African, official, charity, first, international
	Guar.	Libyan, senior, strange, aware, cold, Swiss, Italian, foreign	Kh.	الليبية، الليبي، أول، الإفريقية، الخيرية، الإفريقي Libyan, Libyan, first, charity, African
Proper nouns	NYT	Saif, Islam, Muammar, Hannibal, Seif, Libya, Switzerland, Tripoli	Sh.	ليبيا، معمر، سيف، الإسلام، طرابلس، محمد، جنيف، هانيبال، سويسرا Libya, Muammar, Saif, Islam, Tripoli Mohammad, Geneva, Hannibal, Switzerland
	Guar.	Muammar, Saif, Islam, Hannibal, Saadi, Silvio, Berlusconi, Tony, Blair, Libya, Geneva, Tripoli, Italy, Rome	Kh.	معمر، سيف، الإسلام، هنيبل، سويسرا، جنيف، طرابلس، مبارك، حسني، ليبيا Muamamr, Saif, Islam, Hannibal, Switzerland, Geneva, Tripoli, Mubarak, Hosni, Libya
Plural nouns	NYT	Libyans, leaders, police, sons	Sh.	تصريحات، مصادر، للجمعيات statements, resources, associations
	Guar.	revolutions, relations, talks, Libyans	Kh.	للجمعيات associations

Generating concordance lines for the POS collocates in table 5.2.10, I found that *Qaddafi* was represented differently in the four newspapers. The analysis showed that negativity was more present in the *NYT* coverage when compared to its English counterpart, the *Guardian*,

whereas positivity dominated the coverage of the Arabic newspapers. Due to space constraints, a few examples that illustrate key trends are discussed below.

#### 5.2.3.1. English Newspapers

Sometimes *Qaddafi* was represented in neutral/ positive ways in both English newspapers. For example, in the *Guardian*, the verb *called* was used to show *Qaddafi*'s contributions to end some conflicts in Africa by calling for African Union summits. Similarly, the plural nouns *relations* and *talks* were used in the majority of cases in the *Guardian* in the co-text of the intense bilateral relations between Libya and Britain. Most singular nouns collocates in the *NYT*'s list had neutral connotations, covering some news about his *visit* to Italy and his *meeting* with some young Italian women. *Qaddafi* was also referred to in the *NYT* mostly as *Colonel Qaddafi*, and less frequently as the *Libyan leader*, the *chairman* of the African Union, *Libyan president*, and the one who styled himself as *Libya's brother leader* and the *guide* of the *revolution*.

*Qaddafi*'s son, *Saif-Islam* was represented positively in both newspapers. For example, in the *NYT*, he was seen as the possible successor to *Qaddafi* since he was involved in different Libyan national and international negotiations, and contributed to bridging the gap between his father's regime and the West. In the *Guardian*, *Saif Islam* was seen as the voice of young generation with some expectations of assigning a prestigious position in the Libyan government. The adjective *Swiss* was salient in this period as one of *Qaddafi*'s sons called *Hannibal* and his wife were arrested, and accused of beating two servants at a Geneva hotel. In the newspapers' coverage of the event, there was no clear prejudice for one party over the other though *Qaddafi* rather than the Swiss was portrayed as the one who takes the action as concordance 5.2.11 shows.

	The Guardian
1	The <b>Swiss government apologised</b> to Libya for the arrest
2	... <b>prevent</b> any <b>Swiss plane landing</b> , to all harbours and <b>prevent</b> any <b>Swiss</b> ships docking (Qad. Said)
3	Libya's Muammar <b>Qaddafi, whom</b> the <b>Swiss fear</b> will use the platform to bizarrely call for the abolition of <b>Switzerland</b>
4	...inspect all shops and markets to stop any <b>Swiss goods</b> being sold (Qad. Said)
5	Furious Muammar <b>Qaddafi retaliated</b> by closing <b>Swiss</b> businesses in Libya and throwing out the country's diplomats.
	The NYT
1	Libya also <b>cut off</b> all oil supplies to <b>Switzerland</b> and withdrew assets from <b>Swiss</b> banks.
2	Colonel <b>Qaddafi declared</b> "jihad" on the <b>Swiss</b>
3	Libya <b>barred citizens</b> from 25 European countries from visiting Libya in retaliation for...
4	...the <b>Swiss had paid</b> Hannibal el- <b>Qaddafi</b> \$1.5 million in compensation
5	Mr. Merz came home claiming that Colonel <b>Qaddafi had</b> accepted his <b>heartfelt apology</b> and agreed to release the two <b>Swiss</b> .

Concordance 5.2.11: The adjective *Swiss* in the NYT and the Guardian

However, *Qaddafi* was sometimes represented negatively; for example the adjectives *absurd* in the *NYT* and *strange* in the *Guardian* were used to describe some of *Qaddafi*'s suggestions and behaviours. In the *NYT*, *Qaddafi* was used with the verb *called* as both subject and object; for example he *called* for jihad against Switzerland (Subject), and was called as the "mad dog of the Middle East" by the former president of the U.S. Ronald Reagan (Object) (lines 1 and 2 in concordance 5.2.12). Making further investigation for this phrase (mad dog), I found that it was mentioned very few times. For example, in an article entitled "Libya chides U.S. on weapons program deal Tripoli sees little in way of reward", the author said that *Qaddafi*, once called a "mad dog", achieved the international status he sought for after being named as chairman of the African Union.

1	"CAIRO-- Once the <b>mad dog</b> of the Middle East, as Ronald Reagan called him, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, has focused on shedding his outlaw status: He heads the African Union, attended a Group of 8 economic conference in Rome and is courted by Western powers hungry for Libyan oil."
2	"At the ceremony, Berlusconi offered an apology to the Libyan people and heaped praise on Qaddafi, inviting the man President Ronald Reagan once called a " <b>mad dog</b> " to attend the Group of 8 conference of advanced industrial democracies in Rome in July. The two men hugged."

Concordance 5.2.12: Describing Qaddafi as a *mad dog* in the NYT

In the *Guardian*, the singular noun *dictator* was a collocate with *Qaddafi*, mostly in the "Comment & Debate Section" as shown in concordance 5.2.13 below. For example, some British officials are blamed for their links with the dictatorial regime of Qaddafi (lines 1 And 2). In the co-text of Megrahi, the Scottish government is criticized for returning the murderer to his *dictator* (line 3). The U.S. is said to attempt to soothe the *dictator* after he

was prevented from pitching his tent outside the UN headquarters (line 4). Accordingly, it appears that describing *Qaddafi* as a *dictator* or *tyrant* is not common and frequent in the *Guardian*, and there are just a few incidents that are said by others or mentioned by readers in the “Comment and Debate” Section.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | The moment in 2004 when Tony Blair went to the Sahara and declared the Libyan <b>dictator</b> , Muammar Qaddafi, a good friend of Britain                    |
| 2 | The business secretary, has discussed Megrhi twice this year with Saif al-Islam Qaddafi, the Libyan <b>dictator</b> 's son.                                  |
| 3 | Yet the Scottish government is eager to return this murderer to his <b>dictator</b> , Muammar Qaddafi, a man who has gone on the record as hating all things |
| 4 | Cretz suggested that a personal message from Hillary Clinton to Qaddafi himself might soothe the <b>dictator</b> .   |

Concordance 5.2.13: Describing Qaddafi as a *dictator* in the Guardian

On some occasions, the hypocrisy of some international leaders and officials with the Qaddafi regime was highlighted; for example, in the *Guardian*, *Berlusconi* was reported to offer apology to the Libyan people, in addition to praising *Qaddafi* by saying “I don't know what to call him, he has so many titles: the leader of the revolution, king of kings, chairman of the African Union. And he deserves them and more”. The plural noun *leaders* in the *NYT* was mainly used in the co-texts of *Qaddafi*'s generosity not with the Libyan people, but with others. For example, it is said that the African *leaders* who visited *Libya* left with suitcases full of cash, and this is why they do not want to lose him because he is a gold mine for solving financial crises. During his presence in the Group of Eight economic conference in Rome, different Western powers and *leaders*, described in the *NYT* as hungry for Libyan oil, courted and praised *Qaddafi*.

At the end of this section, I provide some explanations of why *Qaddafi* was represented in such ways in the two English newspapers.

### 5.2.3.2. Arabic Newspapers

In the two Arabic newspapers, *Qaddafi* was constructed in the majority of cases positively/ neutrally. For example, the adjective الليبي *Libyan* (masculine, definite) was used to describe *Qaddafi* as the *Libyan* leader, colonel, and president. The adjective رسمية *official* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* was mainly used to show *Qaddafi*'s *official* visits to other countries, and some leaders' *official* meetings with *Qaddafi* in Libya. Similarly, the verbs يقابل *meets* and قابل *met*



in *Al-Khaleej* were mainly used with *Qaddafi's* different visits to some African countries, especially the areas of conflicts, and his meetings with different Western officials such as the former British and Italian PMs. The collocates *الجمعيات associations* was used in both Arabic newspapers to refer to *Qaddafi's* International Institution for Charity Association and Development that was praised for criticizing the human rights' situation in Libya, and helping in the release of political prisoners. *سيف الاسلام Saif Islam Qaddafi* was represented positively in both newspapers showing that he represents the good and bright side of the *Qaddafi's* regime. He was reported saying that inheritance in Libya is out of the question, and that his father's Green Book is not sacred. *Saif Islam* is said to be one of the most influential figures in the Libyan politics due to his attempts to solve different international issues over Libya.

To see how the dispute between Libya and Switzerland was covered, I examined the proper nouns collocates *هنييعل Hannibal*, *سويسرا Switzerland* and *جنيف Geneva*, and found that some voices in *Asharq Al-Awsat* described *Hannibal's* arrest as a "scandal", and highlighted that *Hannibal's* wife was pregnant although there were no indications for that in the two English newspapers. Unlike the English newspapers, *Asharq Al-Awsat* also reported *Hannibal* offending *Switzerland* saying that it "dances like slaughtered cock", and "makes appeals" to its neighbours to stand by its side but its efforts went in vain. Similarly, in *Al-Khaleej*, *Switzerland* was portrayed as the weak party in that formula as it strived to find a solution to the crisis with Tripoli. The Swiss president congratulated *Qaddafi* on his "frank and clear" speech in the United Nations General Assembly although many saw it in a completely different way. *Al-Khaleej* also quoted some foreign newspapers which had the headline "Switzerland kneels in front of Qaddafi" as Geneva made different requests to reconcile with Libya and was ready to pay compensations for the son of *Qaddafi*.

Most of the singular nouns in *Al-Khaleej's* and *Asharq Al-Awsat's* lists are related to the titles of *Qaddafi* as he used to refer to himself as the *king* of kings of Africa, the *dean* of the Arab rulers, and the *imam* of the Muslims. He portrayed himself as a paternal figure that looks after Libya's six million inhabitants. Regarding *Qaddafi's* severe reaction on the arrest of his son in Switzerland, one of his titles was used in an ironic way by an analyst, in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, who said that the Swiss security's treatment with *Hannibal* did not take into account the status of his father who held the title of "King of Kings of Africa". Investigating whether the two Arabic newspapers mentioned that *Qaddafi* came to power

through a military coup or not, I found that this happened in very few cases and mostly by reporting other people.

## **Summary and Discussion**

The analysis of *Qaddafi's* collocates in the pre-uprisings period showed that *Qaddafi* was represented, to a great extent, neutrally in the four newspapers frequently covering his visits and activities, and less frequently his absurd proposals. In the English newspapers, and in very few occasions, Qaddafi was represented negatively, while their Arabic counterparts tended to avoid that, and on the contrary focused on his contribution to solving out some problems in the Arab world and Africa. This shows that Qaddafi had, to a great extent, normal and sometimes strong relations with some Arabic and non-Arabic countries as reflected in the newspapers' coverage of his different activities. Based on the analysis above, it appears that the influence of the political situation on the way how *Qaddafi* was represented was more obvious in the Arabic newspapers than their English counterparts which seem to take some other factors into account in their coverage of stories about Qaddafi. For example, Qaddafi's visits to some other countries might not be that newsworthy; however his sudden and sometimes 'deviant weird acts' in those visits or any other international activities are more likely to be covered bearing in mind that negative actions or behaviours, however small, are seen as an important news value in itself. In the *Guardian*, stories about *Qaddafi's* relations with Britain were privileged perhaps due to its relevance and saliency to the main intended audience of the newspaper (those who live in the UK), and perhaps because such relations between a 'democratic' state and an 'oppressive' regime might be surprising for some audience.

In order to explain and interpret the findings of the analysis above about the construction of Qaddafi, it should be interrogated from different historical, political, and social contexts. Investigating the context is very important in CDA; for example Wodak (2001) argues that researchers should take into account the social, political, and historical contexts most relevant to the texts' production and comprehension. Similarly, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) state that discourse cannot be understood without considering the context, and that the text cannot be completely understood without considering its use in a particular situation and relations with other discourses. Therefore, in order to see why each of the investigated newspapers

constructed Qaddafi differently, I investigated the relationship between Libya and the countries where the newspapers are mainly published.

The neutral and sometimes negative descriptions of Qaddafi in the *NYT* was a reflection of the tense relation between the United States and the Qaddafi regime that was known for its support for terrorist groups, and separatists around the world (Blanchard, 2008). In 1981, two Libyan warplanes were shot down by the US air force flying over the Gulf of Sirte (Schumacher, 1986). In 1986, Libya was accused of sponsoring the bombing of Berlin discotheque which was frequented by US military personnel, and as a result the U.S conducted bombing raid on Qaddafi's headquarters and home in Tripoli (The Guardian, 2011c). Some Western countries including the United States rejected Qaddafi's policies and his illegitimate sponsorship for terrorism and violence (Montgomery, 2009). According to Blanchard (2008), the conflict between the Arabs and Israel was another source of tension between the United States and the Qaddafi regime which opposed any attempts of reconciliation or negotiation with Israel. Due to Qaddafi's sponsorship to different airliner bombings, Libya entered a period of international isolation after the U.N imposed sanctions on it in 1992, and this brought some pressure on Qaddafi mainly because of the loss of oil revenue. This motivated Qaddafi and his regime to change some of their policies, and so in 1999, they agreed to compensate the families of the victims of different bombings Libya was involved in (Griset & Mahan, 2003). A new phase of relations between Libya and the United States happened when Qaddafi offered intelligence cooperation after September 11, 2001, and his pledge to abandon Libya's weapons of mass destruction in 2003 (Blanchard, 2008). As a result, Libya held different oil agreements with the US, and some European and Asian countries. Qaddafi's new relations with the international community reached its peak when Libya was elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nation Security Council in 2007, and took over one-month rotating presidency in January 2008 (Hagger, 2009). Accordingly, it appears that the relationship between the United States and the Qaddafi regime was tense since Qaddafi came to power in 1969, but was normalized gradually since late 2003. However, although the restoration of full diplomatic relations between Libya and the United States is said to happen in 2006, their actual relations have remained dubious (Blanchard, 2008). Some of these aspects perhaps influenced the way how Qaddafi was represented in the *NYT* in this period.

To explain the neutral and sometimes positive description of Qaddafi in the *Guardian*, I also investigated the history of relations between Britain and the Qaddafi regime. The Libyan-UK relations in the era of Qaddafi were very troubled especially at the very beginning when Qaddafi came to power in 1969 with his anti-western policies that led to fully nationalizing the assets of British Petroleum (BP) in Libya. Such strained relations continued for about 30 years (Cristiani, 2014) due to the Qaddafi regime's involvement in supporting the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and providing it with weapons, and killing Yvonne Fletcher, a British policewoman, outside the Libyan Embassy in London, and this led the UK to break off its relations with Libya in 1984. The relations got more strained after the Lockerbie bombing in 1988. In the 1990s, as shown above, Libya began to distance itself from sponsoring terrorist activities and took some actions to prove this including handing the suspects of the Lockerbie bombing to Scotland. As a result, the UK restored its relations with the Qaddafi regime in 1999 and began the process of helping Libya on its way to international rehabilitation (Cristiani, 2014). The improved relations between the UK and Libya got stronger as some events indicate; for example the former British PM Blair visited Libya in 2004 and 2007, the BP signed a USD 900-million deal with Libya, Libya and the United Kingdom signed a prisoners transfer agreement (PTA) which allows a prisoner to serve out his sentence in his home country in 2008, and Megrahi was released on compassionate grounds in 2009. Some of these aspects, perhaps with some others, may explain the way how Qaddafi was represented in the *Guardian* in this period.

As shown in the corpus analysis, Qaddafi was represented mainly positively in the two investigated Arabic newspapers. Since his rise to power in 1969, Qaddafi was armed with a vision of anti-imperialism and Arab unity, and worked to purge the country of corruption and the symbols and supporters of Western colonialism, and as a result of this, many of the oil companies were nationalized, the British, Americans, and Italians were thrown out, and Arabic was restored as the country's official language (Black, 2003). Qaddafi's character appears to be controversial and irrational for many; however for some others, he is "praised as a virulent anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist, while others condemn him as a plotter and an adventurer whose zealous pursuit of Arab, African, and Islamic unity has only resulted in destabilization" (Black, 2003, p. 247). Qaddafi was known for defending the rights of Arabs in different occasions; for example in 1987, he said that Arab countries must have the atom bomb to be able to defend themselves and liberate Palestine (Simons, 1993). Accordingly, by

repeating such ideas that support pan-Arabism, Qaddafi might have got some popularity among the Arab audience that sometimes regarded him as a staunch proponent of their vital issues. This could explain why the two Arabic newspapers represent him positively. However, one might argue that Qaddafi was accused of intimidation, torture, and murder at local level by organizations of human rights. This is true, but since none of the investigated newspapers is Libyan, they tended in their coverage to put more focus on Qaddafi's participations in different Arab national and international activities where he promotes his pan-Arab ideas rather than covering news about the internal situation in Libya. In addition to the political aspects that strongly influence news production in the Arab world, the internal situation in Libya might not be as newsworthy as the country's involvement in the pan-Arab arena.

In the next two chapters (periods two and three), I investigate whether the outbreak of the uprisings across the Arab world affects how some Arab regimes especially of Qaddafi are constructed in different newspapers.

#### **5.2.4. Period 1 discussion**

In this section, I used different corpus linguistic techniques, namely frequency, clusters, keywords, collocation and concordance to examine the differences and similarities in the English and Arabic newspapers' coverage in general, and their representation of *Qaddafi* in particular in the pre-uprisings era (2009/2010). The unique words analysis in this period showed that the *Guardian* mainly concentrated on one issue in the Libyan co-text, namely *Megrahi's* release and its effect on Britain's relations with Libya, Scotland, and the U.S. The *NYT* covered more issues, and focused mainly on Libya's *nuclear* programs, *oil*, and *relations* with other countries. The *Guardian* is a national British newspaper, and so in the Libyan context, Megrahi's release was an important event to be covered. In addition, although the event is considered as important news value in itself, it attracted more detailed and longer coverage in the *Guardian* because it happened at home (Britain), and so have relevance to the main targeted audience. The *NYT* also densely covered some vital topics in the scope of the policies and interests of the United States; for example three main themes were repeatedly mentioned in this period in the *NYT*, namely *oil*, *terrorism*, and *nuclear weapons*. The unique words analysis also suggests that before the outbreak of the uprisings, the Qaddafi's regime had relatively good relations with some European countries, especially

Britain and Italy in spite of its probable involvement in some terrorist acts. It also showed the strained relationships between the US and Libya apparently because of Qaddafi's economic policy and support of violence.

Regarding the Arabic newspapers, the majority of the unique words in *Al-Khaleej* addressed local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where the newspaper is published and located. Most of the unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* reflected pan-Arab issues such as *Darfur* crisis in Sudan, Arab's relations with *Israel*, and the different Arab *summits*. The themes covered in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* showed how pan-Arab newspapers tend to address the entire Arab community. The unique words analysis showed that the English newspapers discussed Libya's involvement in some terror attacks, and paid much attention to its nuclear program as these events are more newsworthy in the international arena, while the Arabic newspapers focused on Libya's involvement in some Arab activities especially the Arab league summits as such types of events have more values in the national and pan-Arab arenas.

The unique words results were reflected in the Keyword analysis where the decision of *Megrahi's* release was more covered in the *Guardian* when compared to the *NYT*, while the *NYT* gave more attention to Libya's relations with other countries. Megrahi's case was densely covered in the *Guardian* because it is considered as a British national issue (has physical and cultural proximity), while the keywords in the *NYT* showed the American interest in nuclear power, and the spread of uranium enrichment technology to some countries including Pakistan, Iran, NK and Libya. The keyword analysis also partly contributed to understanding the differences between the *Guardian* and the *NYT* as the analysis of the attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team shows. In common with the English newspapers' keyword analysis, the Arabic keywords confirmed the results of the frequency analysis where *Al-Khaleej* focused in its coverage on local issues in the UAE, and some national and international sport activities, while *Asharq Al-Awsat's* keywords showed the newspaper's interest in covering political issues rather than economic or sport-related news. The keyword analysis also contributed to understanding some of the differences between *Asharq Al-Awsat's* and *Al-Khaleej's* coverage of some events and their representation to some countries as the analysis of the keyword *Iran* showed.

*Qaddafi's* collocates in the English and Arabic corpora showed that the English newspapers had to a great extent neutral discourse prosodies with *Qaddafi* although they sometimes referred to his absurd proposal, strange behaviours, and stubbornness. The Arabic newspapers covered *Qaddafi's* different activities and visits, in addition to his contribution to solving some of the problems in the Arab world and Africa. In order to explain why *Qaddafi* was constructed this way in the four newspapers, I investigated the historical, political, and social contexts of the relations between Libya and the countries where the four newspapers are mainly published namely the UK, the U.S, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE, and found that the newspapers' coverage are sometimes influenced by these relations. For example, the neutral and sometimes negative descriptions of *Qaddafi* in the *NYT* might be read as a reflection of the tense relations between the US and the *Qaddafi* regime that was known for its support for terrorist groups and separatists around the world (Blanchard, 2008). The *Guardian* is also perhaps influenced by the improved relations between the UK and Libya after the UK restored its relations with the *Qaddafi* regime in 1999 and began the process of helping Libya on its way to international rehabilitation (Cristiani, 2014). The two Arabic newspapers focused on *Qaddafi's* support for pan-Arabism and neglected covering the Libyan citizens' torture and intimidation by the *Qaddafi* regime maybe because they did not want to create any trouble between the *Qaddafi's* regimes and the regimes of the countries where they are located, or perhaps because they did not have access or enough freedom to cover such aspects at that time.

*Megrahi's* release was densely covered by the English newspapers, especially the *Guardian*, and was one of the keywords in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. The four newspapers described the plane bombing as "Lockerbie crisis", "Lockerbie disaster", and "Lockerbie atrocity"; however they differed in their description to the decision of the release. The choice of different descriptions to refer to *Megrahi* was clear in the four newspapers; for example, in the *Guardian*, in the co-texts of putting pressure on the Libyan government for giving *Megrahi* a hero's welcome, blaming Scotland for taking the decision, soothing the US anger, and sometimes criticising the British government, the newspaper described *Megrahi* as a "bomber", "mass murderer", and "terrorist". In the two Arabic newspapers in addition to the *NYT*, although Scotland was referred to as the place where the event happened and the place from which *Megrahi* was released, Britain was frequently accused of pushing behind the scenes for the release to win and secure billions of dollars in oil trade with Libya. The four newspapers tended in their coverage to report others' opinions on the decision of the

release, with the Libyan government and officials as the most frequently quoted in the Arabic newspapers, the US officials, the families of the victims, and the British officials who severely criticized the event in the *NYT*, and British and Scottish officials in the *Guardian*.

Unlike the English newspapers, the two Arabic newspapers heavily reported the opinions of the *Megrahi* family; his wife, father, brothers, and cousins who expressed their sympathy with their son due to his poor health conditions emotionally emphasizing how *Megrahi*'s children longed to say the word "dad". The Arabic newspapers also gave much space for the Libyan officials who described *Megrahi* as one of the holy fighters that deserves appreciation, and claimed that he made a great sacrifice for his country. In the *NYT*, the families of the US victims were densely quoted and reported to criticize Scotland and Britain for putting the compassion for *Megrahi* before the compassion for the 270 victims and their relatives. Accordingly, *Megrahi* and his family's voices only appeared in the Arabic newspapers, when compared to the voice of the families of the victims that appeared a lot in the English newspapers' coverage of the event, especially the *NYT*.

*Megrahi*'s homecoming and hero's reception was covered densely by the English newspapers. In the *NYT*, perhaps to show that that the decision was wrong and highlight Qaddafi's arrogance and manipulation with some leading countries in exchange with oil contracts and trade deals, while in the *Guardian* maybe to shift the criticism from against Britain and Scotland towards Qaddafi and Libya. Based on the corpus analysis, it seems that the *NYT* coverage of the release discursively attempted to promote a sense of US national identity (Hutcheson, Domke, Garland, & Billeaudeau, 2004) by highlighting the US victims as innocent and inherently good, and "Others" as evil. The British government, as shown by the *Guardian*, was between the devil and the deep blue sea struggling to keep good relations with all parties including the U.S., Scotland, Libya, British opposition, and the families of victims. The English newspapers, when compared to their Arabic counterparts, tended more to construct identities based on the ideological square of "us" vs "them", especially at the hero's welcome scene. Since neither of the investigated Arabic newspapers is Libyan, the ideological square was not as clear as their English counterparts. In addition to this, both newspapers very rarely commented on the events and kept reporting others in most cases.



Based on the previous analysis, it can be observed that the four newspapers do not operate within a vacuum. They are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working. The newspapers legitimised some policies and points of view and delegitimised others. In the four newspapers, the prominence of the terms “president”, “leader”, and “colonel” constructs *Qaddafi* as the head of the state in spite of all his “strange” and “weird” behaviours. The Arabic newspapers constructed the character of *Qaddafi* as any other Arab leaders covering his activities and efforts in solving some conflicts not only in Africa, but also the whole world. They portrayed him as the father of all Libyans and the one who wants to distribute the state budget directly to the Libyan families. Conversely, the English newspapers constructed *Qaddafi* in a moderate way although indirect negativity was sometimes present, mainly through comments sections. These sections, i.e. Comment & Debate and Letters to the Editors, usually aim to balance the newspaper’s opinion with ordinary readers’ opinions incorporating their voices within the public discussion. They represent an interactive medium between journalists and the public although space and market considerations limit the potential of these sections to meet any standards of inclusive public deliberation (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2001). In the same vein, Manosevitch and Walker (2009) say that readers’ comments enable readers to discuss topics in context since the article, they are connected to, marks the subject of discussion and is as Domingo (2008) described the “micro forums attached to news” (p. 694). For future work, some detailed corpus/CDA analysis for such sections is required bearing on mind that “there has been little scholarly attention toward the nature of these conversations [readers’ comments, authors’ note and their implications of democracy” (Ruiz et al., 2011, p. 464).

The next chapter investigates the focus of the four investigated newspapers in 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began and ended, and examines whether the style of the newspapers changed after Libya descended into civil war.

## 6. CHAPTER Six

### Period 2 (2011)

I now turn to investigate how the during-uprisings period (2011) is represented in the four investigated newspapers. Period 2 represents the most critical period in the corpus since the main investigated event in this study, represented by the 2011 Libyan civil war, happened in it. As discussed in section 5.2, the per-uprisings era was taken as a baseline to measure and assess the newspapers' style and type of coverage in the other two periods. In this chapter, I examine whether Qaddafi's relations with some countries and his representation in the four newspapers are affected by the pressure of the international community especially after his 'violence' in facing the 2011 Libyan uprisings and his decision to fight his own people.

### 6.1 Unique Words

In order to uncover the different news foci on *Qaddafi* and *Libya* in the four English and Arabic newspapers in this period (2011), I examined the most frequent unique words, which refer to the words that only occur in (a) particular period(s) rather than others, as shown in table 6.1. This will contribute to uncovering the discourses about the representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* during the 2011 Libyan civil war. It will also contribute to answering the following research questions:

**2/B:** What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the during-uprisings period (2011)?

**5:** In what ways is the era of the Arab Spring defined and constructed in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* in 2011 in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya*\*, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt*?

Table 6.1: Unique words in period 2 (2011) in the Arabic and English newspapers

Newspaper	Common words across periods
The Guardian	Libyan, regime, forces, military, Tripoli, NATO, Arab, UK, rebels, Britain, yesterday
The NYT	Qaddafi, colonel, Libyan, military, forces, rebels, Obama, world, oil, NATO, security, Arab, Tripoli

<b>Al-Khaleej</b>	المجلس، طرابلس، الثوار، قوات، معمر، الانتقالي، المعارضة، النظام، الوطني، الشعب، الامن، الحكومة council, Tripoli, rebels, forces, Muammar, transitional, opposition, the regime, national, people, security, government
<b>Asharq Al-Awsat</b>	النظام، نظام، الثوار، المجلس، طرابلس، سوريا، الشعب، السوري، الانتقالي، رئيس، الثورة، قوات، الوطني، العقيد، معمر (the) regime, rebels, council, Tripoli, Syria, people, Syrian, transitional, president of, revolution, forces, national, Colonel, Muammar

As shown in table 6.1, the four newspapers seem to densely cover some events related to the Arab uprisings in general, and the 2011 Libyan civil war in particular. Unlike period 1, there was more coverage of the situation in Libya, perhaps because news organizations generally tend to densely cover large-scale novel events that challenge the status quo (Phillips, 2015).

### 6.1.1 English Newspapers

Some of the unique words mentioned in table 6.1 occurred in the two English newspapers, namely *NATO*, *forces*, *military*, and *rebels*. Putting the foreign news (civil war in Libya in this case) into a domestic context to explain to readers their importance and consequences, both newspapers focused on the role of the international coalition in saving the lives of the “innocent” civilians in some of the Arab Spring countries. To further examine this role, I analysed a unique word that occurred in the *Guardian*’s and the *NYT*’s lists in this period, namely ***NATO***. Before carrying out a corpus analysis for this word, I investigated the main purposes/motives of the NATO intervention in Libya. The legitimacy of its intervention, according to R2P doctrine (Responsibility to Protect, 2005), is humanitarian, and derived from the international community’s right intention to stop or prevent human suffering. Evans (2008, p. 143) points out that “mixed motives, in international relations as everywhere else, are a fact of life”. Pattison (2011) argues that the humanitarian motives might be switched to regime change as the intervention goes on. In the Libyan case, the main motive is said to be Libya’s major role in global oil markets. For example, Castro (2011) mentions that the “Cuban President Fidel Castro had pointed at the ‘cynicism’ of the West in using the cover of a humanitarian intervention to actually wage a war to gain control of Libyan resources, particularly oil” (p. 309).

To uncover how *NATO* was referred to in both newspapers, I carried out a collocational analysis, and categorised its statistically strongest 50 collocates into three thematic groups as shown in table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Thematic categories of the collocates of *NATO* in the Guardian and the NYT

Collocates of <i>NATO</i> in the two English newspapers		
Thematic Category	The Guardian	The NYT
<b>Military actions</b>	strikes, campaign, bombing, operations, operation, planes, commanders, warplanes, air, jets, strategy, targets, strike, hit, airstrikes, action, aircraft, sorties, struck, attacks, intervention	targets, airstrike, general, planes, operations, strikes, aircraft, bombed, defense, backed, bombing, troops, airstrikes, warplanes, strike, struck, attacks, attack, intervention, mission
<b>Countries and Officials and their role</b>	Fogh, Anders, Rasmussen, Brussels, France, official, countries, alliance, allies, secretary, Italy	Fogh, Anders, Rasmussen, allies, Brussels, alliance, Italy, Europe, headquarters, secretary, partners, diplomat, Afghanistan, Britain, European, Naples
<b>Consequences and Results</b>	role, support, protect, cover	civilians, destroyed, conflict, protect, support

As can be observed in table 6.2, the thematic categories of the *NATO*'s collocates in both the *NYT* and the *Guardian* are identical; however, in some cases the collocates themselves are different, and the concentration on one particular category rather than another is also observed. For example, when going through the concordance lines, I found that the concentration in the *NYT* was on Obama and the United States rather than Britain and France as in the *Guardian*.

**Military Actions.** In the *Guardian*, I investigated the statistically strongest collocate in this group *strikes*, and found that the British enthusiasm and justifications for *NATO*'s intervention in Libya were highlighted. Britain, for example, emphasized that the bombing *strikes* would not end in Libya until Qaddafi stops "slaughtering" his own people. Britain and France are frequently referred to as the countries that are leading the military actions against Qaddafi. In the *Guardian*, *NATO*'s *strikes* are said in almost all cases to target Qaddafi's troops and military sites. *NATO* was also said to help the rebels to advance in some regions by backing them by powerful air *strikes*.

In the *NYT*, I also investigated the statistically strongest collocate *targets*, and found that the focus was on the nature of the *NATO*'s *targets* being against the systematic attacks on the Libyan civilians by the regime of Qaddafi. *NATO*'s role in supporting the rebels was also highlighted in several incidents; for example, its airstrikes cleared the lands, and gave the rebels the opportunities to advance. Sometimes, *NATO*'s "unintentional" killing of civilians is justified by saying that Qaddafi's forces mixed with the civilians to protect themselves from the air attacks. Accordingly, in both newspapers, the military action of the *NATO* is said to be against the Qaddafi forces that kill the Libyan civilians (negative out-group description), and its aim is to protect the Libyan civilians (positive in-group description).

**Officials and Countries.** *Anders Fogh Rasmussen* was the most quoted person in the co-text of *NATO* because he was, at that time, the Secretary General of *NATO*. Therefore, most of the official news about the raids on Libya was revealed by him. The collocate *Brussels* is mentioned since it is the place where *NATO*'s headquarters are. In the *Guardian*, two countries were saliently mentioned in the co-text of *NATO*, namely *Italy* and *France*. In the *NYT*'s coverage, more focus was given to Obama and Washington, and so the White House rather than Brussels was portrayed as the place where decisions are taken. In the same vein, the *NYT* put more focus on the US rather than the European role in supporting the military operations in Libya. It is also reported that the U.S., at the beginning, decided to lead from behind to force the European countries to "take responsibility for protecting their own back yard". This, according to some voices reported in the newspaper, implies that the U.S. is no longer prepared to "offer unconditional defence guarantees" to the European countries if they are not prepared to do more themselves. As a consequence, the European countries took the leading role in Libya. However, after two months, they ran critically low on munitions, and the U.S. intervened and sold the alliance ordnance saving *NATO* from embarrassment. This implies that the European countries lack a number of essential military capabilities and should spend more wisely on defence. Based on this, it appears that the *NYT*, by showing the 'weakness' of the leading European countries, tended to portray the U.S. as the strongest and most dominant country in the world, and as the one that steps in not only to defend the rights of the third world countries, but also to save the reputation of some other very strong countries. Accordingly, the story of the *NATO* intervention in Libya becomes a case of coverage that focuses on the US perspective and military interests. Covering the story this

way also contributes to sustaining the American people's confidence in their armed forces and political system (Fialka, 1992).

**Consequences and Results.** When investigating how the verb *protect* was used as a collocate with *NATO* in this category, I found that it is mainly used in the *Guardian* in two contexts. First, to emphasize the apparent reason behind the West intervention in Libya that is “to *protect* the Libyan civilians” (frequent), and second reporting some Libyan officials who claimed that the excuse of *NATO*'s intervention to *protect* the civilians is fake as scores of Libyan civilians died since the airstrikes began, and the bombing delivered far more killing than before (not frequent). By doing so, the *Guardian* seems to achieve some core principles of journalism represented here by reporting the different voices regarding the intervention in Libya; the British officials and the international coalition (first context), and some of the Libyan officials (second context). However, although the newspaper provided some space for secondary voices (Qaddafi's loyalists in this case), more space was given to the other party that includes anti-Qaddafi groups and some Western officials. This means that there was a space for oppositional reading (pro-Qaddafi sources), but still the elite sources (pro-international coalition sources) were given more space and had the final words on the topic.

In the *NYT*, investigating how the collocate *support* was used; I first thought that it is used in the context of supporting civilians and rebels. However, it was mainly used in the *NYT* to categorize the countries based on whether they supported *NATO*'s intervention in Libya or not, and the US support for the military operations there being praised by the international community. This suggests that the US relationship with other states is not so much a humanitarian one, and that the US news media, as found by Kim (2014), tend to classify the world countries into specific categories based on their stance towards the United States. The collocate *civilians* was used in the co-text of *NATO* in two polemic contexts (concordance 6.1). First, *NATO*'s apparent role in Libya to protect the Libyan civilians (lines 5,7,8,9,11,12, 14, and 24), and *NATO*'s airstrikes killing civilians (lines 1,2,3,4,6,10, 16, 17,18,19,20,21, 22, 23, 25, and 26) although the speakers in the second category are , in most cases, Libyan officials who are loyal to Qaddafi. This suggests that in the *NYT*'s coverage of the *NATO*'s intervention in Libya, some people who disagree with the *NATO* narrative of the story were reported, providing some balance in the story by introducing the

opposing voices. This is according to Phillips (2015) an important way of broadening the number of voices in a story. Moreover, this contributes to having multiplicity of points of view. At the end, when all views have been taken into account, rational people can make better judgements (Phillips, 2015).

1	Libyan cities, and doing so without inflicting casualties on civilians. A NATO official said that two member nations,
2	scenario, it was assessed these vehicles were a threat to civilians." In April, NATO admitted its planes twice hit rebel
3	made new charges that a NATO airstrike had killed civilians, including children, when it hit a palatial country
4	the strikes' main victims, and often the intended targets, are civilians, and not military, as NATO has said. But so far, the
5	global community has decided to step in to protect innocent civilians from suffering further harm. NATO is preventing
6	crusader aggressors" (that's NATO) are not protecting civilians; they are massacring them. Every day a barrage of
7	, who said the rebels still needed NATO "protection for our civilians." The Security Council resolution authorized the use
8	where the moral argument and the "responsibility to protect" civilians is clearer. NATO, like the European Union, is suffering
9	that authorized "all necessary measures" to protect Libyan civilians, the basis of NATO's support for rebel forces. But
10	said the Libyans had raised the issue of the killing of civilians by NATO air strikes since NATO began bombing in
11	, as the Libyans told it, of NATO's "barbarity" toward Libyan civilians and the West's utter lack of concern for international
12	throughout the air campaign. NATO's mandate to protect civilians who are threatened or have come under attack
13	of tardiness and indecision. "What is NATO doing?" he asked. "Civilians are dying every day. They use the excuse of
14	very active and it was more leaning toward protecting the civilians." "NATO is very slow responding to these attacks on
15	Lines of Battle Blur in Libya, NATO Warns Rebels Not to Attack Civilians WASHINGTON -- Members of the NATO alliance have
16	forces shell the rebel-held city of Misurata, killing hundreds of civilians, NATO's credibility is suffering, with critics saying it
17	are conducting airstrikes against Libyan targets that attack civilians. But NATO commanders say they are still struggling
18	burials of empty coffins in order to accuse NATO of killing civilians, gravediggers cursed at the unidentified, five-day-old
19	family is innocent." On Aug. 8, NATO hit buildings occupied by civilians again, this time in Majer, according to survivors,
20	. "Only when we had a clear shot would we take it," he said. Civilians were killed by NATO within days of the alliance's
21	have filed a civil lawsuit in Belgium accusing NATO of killing 13 civilians, including three children, by bombing a residential
22	surveillance video, he said, would prove NATO wrong. Only civilians were there, he said, and he demanded that the
23	, cited the bombing as evidence that NATO was killing civilians, not protecting them, as called for in the United
24	, apparently deviating from NATO's nominal mission to protect civilians. "I can confirm that NATO is providing intelligence
25	amounted to poor public policy. "It's crystal clear that civilians died in NATO strikes," said Fred Abrahams, a
26	and photographs — found credible accounts of dozens of civilians killed by NATO in many distinct attacks. At least 40

Concordance 6.1: The collocate *civilian* in the co-text of *NATO* in the NYT

Going through the concordance lines in the *NYT*, I found that the intervention in Libya is described as war (concordance 6.2). For example, some clusters/clauses such as “NATO in a third war in a Muslim nation” (line 2), “NATO coalition’s war” (line 3), “NATO war” (line 4), “NATO-run multilateral war” (line 5), “NATO-led war” (lines 6 and 7), “NATO-led air war” (lines 8 and 9), and “NATO’s air war in Libya” (lines 10 and 11) were found. This use apparently contradicts the UN Security Council resolutions 1970 and 1973 which were used to legitimize *NATO* to conduct the so called “humanitarian intervention to

Libya” to uphold human rights by saving lives. I think that the word *war* was used in the *NYT* because the European countries and NATO rather than the United States played the leading role in the intervention, and so it seems that other countries’ wars can be described as that more easily. In addition, given that the United States’ own wars are more likely labelled as ‘campaigns’, ‘interventions’ or other terms (the exception being the war on terror), this word might have also been used to reflect the opposing opinions of the NATO intervention in Libya. Moreover, Libya, the place where the conflict occurred, is a strategic area that is full of natural resources and so many powerful countries were motivated to intervene there. The situation in Libya and the international intervention there is similar to what happened in Iraq in 2003, where the Western power intervened allegedly to protect the region from Saddam Hussein’s policies and his nuclear power. However, the ultimate goal was to take over the country's oil reserves (Klare, 2004; Lieberfeld, 2005 ). Therefore, it appears that the international intervention is seen in the majority of cases as a war on resources rather than humanitarian intervention to protect “innocent” civilians.

N	Concordance
1	that has led both countries and NATO into waging war against the forces of the Libyan leader, Col.
2	involved, either directly or through NATO, in a third war in a Muslim nation. “We’re not in a good place,”
3	invested in the European rescue; the NATO coalition’s war in Libya; and the denouement of the Arab Spring
4	on Libya had been twisted to encompass a NATO war against the Libyan government and saying they
5	costs.” Libya represents the first NATO-run multilateral war where the United States has pulled back from
6	Africa and the Middle East, even as the NATO-led war in Libya drags expensively and bloodily toward
7	. That would be a disaster. Just look at the NATO-led war in Libya in which only six out of the 28 NATO
8	in Tunisia and Egypt, prompted a NATO-led air war against Libya and led to harsh crackdowns in
9	continued American participation in the NATO-led air war in Libya at its current level, even as he
10	military activities in Libya, arguing that the NATO air war -- while officially limited to protecting civilians --
11	by continuing American participation in NATO's air war in Libya without Congressional authorization, but
12	behind,” if “leading” is even the right word — in a war prosecuted by the NATO alliance and driven by

Concordance 6.2: The collocate *war* in the co-text of *NATO* in the *NYT*

The analysis of the word *NATO* suggests that the coverage of both newspapers of the international intervention in Libya focuses on the US and British perspectives and interests bearing in mind that mass media plays a vital role in shaping the public’s perception of the military and its missions. Such role is crucial; for example if media covered a particular military operation (the intervention in Libya in this case) positively; the public will probably



react positively to it, and be convinced that the military has executed its mission in manners accepted by society (English, 2005).

*Arab* was also one of the unique words in period 2. In order to see how it was used, I created a cluster analysis as shown in table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Most frequent clusters with *Arab* in period 2 in the Guardian and the NYT

Most frequent clusters with <i>Arab</i> in the English corpus			
The Guardian	Freq.	The NYT	Freq.
Arab Spring	341	Arab World	587
Arab League	288	Arab League	321
Arab World	264	Arab Spring	319
Arab Countries	85	Arab Countries	120
Arab States	50	United Arab Emirates	106
United Arab Emirates	44	Arab Leaders	44
Arab Leaders	24	Arab States	42
Arab Uprisings	22	Arab Uprisings	41
Arab Support	21	Arab Revolts	34
Arab Revolution/S	21/18	Arab Nations	28
Arab Dictators	19	Arab Revolutions	22

The cluster the *Arab Spring* was the most frequent in the *Guardian* and ranked third in the *NYT*. To see how the era of the Arab uprisings was referred to in both newspapers; further investigation was made for the clusters *Arab Spring*, *Arab uprisings*, *Arab revolution*, and *Arab revolutions*. In the process, I created patterns analysis for *spring*, *revolution*, *uprisings*, and *revolution* to see the most frequent collocates with them as shown in table 6.4 and 6.5.

Table 6.4: Patterns analysis for *spring*, *revolution*, *uprisings*, and *revolutions* in the Guardian

Patterns Analysis for <i>spring</i> , <i>revolution</i> , <i>uprisings</i> , and <i>revolutions</i> in the Guardian										
L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
western	response	when	Arab	Arab	Spring Revolution uprisings Revolutions	will	been	Arab	world	have
Arab	start	year	Tehran	democratic		could	become	wave	Arab	Arab
first	intervention	where	so-called	spring		uprisings	Tunisia	which	Egypt	summer
Syria	Tripoli	world				countries	will	many	spring	Tunisia
opportunity	events	after				which	would	Libya	important	world
borders	killed	wake				uprising	next	different		fury
bloodiest	Libya					sprouts	claimed			will
news	experience					breaks	Freedland			they
	chapters					across	have			Africa
	heart					said				people
	region					speaking				general
	provided					have				

Table 6.5: Patterns analysis for *spring, uprisings, revolts, and revolution* in the NYT

Patterns Analysis <i>spring, uprisings, revolts, and revolution</i> in the NYT										
L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
Arab	countries	Arab	Arab	Arab	Spring Uprisings Revolts Revolutions	that	have	Arab	world	world
violent	support	about	so-called	spring		uprisings	2011	Egypt	Arab	that
year	violent	wave	world	popular		began	Tunisia	have	Tunisia	have
Tunisia	future	world	revolts	democracy		have	revolutions	through	Egypt	Arab
repercussions	Libya		recent			tour	Libya	uprising	name	Syria
birthplace	election					would	misstated	given	given	country
could	Arab					across	likely	Libya	president	name
focal	birthplace					protests	began	said		seemed
	aspirations					revolts	people			
	behind					Tunisia	north			
	tumult					which				
	revolutions					were				
	inspired					convulsing				
	fact					Libya				
	chapter					misstated				
	response					reached				
	line					movement				

As shown in the pattern analyses above, some general information about the Arab uprisings was covered in both newspapers such as its birth place *Tunisia*, time *2011*, causes, repercussions as well as influences and consequences. The main countries involved in the uprisings were mentioned, namely: *Tunisia*, *Libya*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*. Although *Yemen* was also affected by this period and the regime there was toppled, it was not among the countries mentioned here. This may be due to its minor role in the Arab world and international politics, at least when compared with the other Arab Spring countries. Furthermore, it is one of the poorest countries in the Arab world with very limited resources and prevailing energy poverty (El-Katiri & Fattouh, 2011). This can be observed throughout the thesis, where references to the *Yemeni* case were very few when compared to the other four countries in general and *Libya* and *Syria* in particular. This supports the discussion above about the notion of mixed motives in international relations. As observed by Phillips (2015), the power of the country plays an important role in determining the level of international coverage given to it, and it seems that the more powerful the country is, the more likely its actions and the events happening on its land are to be reported.

In the *Guardian*, I examined some collocates that have positive connotations such as *opportunity*, *provided*, *democratic*, and *important*. The collocate *opportunity* was used in

different co-texts; mainly suggesting that the crises in the region created by the Arab Spring can become an opportunity to restart peace talks with the Israelis. *Democratic* was used in some cases, in this period, to describe this era of uprisings as in “democratic revolution” (lines 1, 6, and 7), “democratic uprisings” (line 2), “democratic spring” (line 3), “Arab democratic revolution” (line 4), “democratic waves of the Arab Spring” (line 5), and “the Arab spring democratic change” (line 8) (concordance 6.3).

1	supporting a <b>democratic revolution</b> across the <b>Arab</b> world
2	<b>democratic uprisings</b> elsewhere in the <b>Arab</b> ”
3	the <b>Arab democratic spring</b>
4	the <b>hurricane</b> of the <b>Arab democratic revolution</b>
5	The <b>revolution</b> has moved Libya into the <b>democratic</b> wave of the <b>Arab spring</b>
6	The <b>Arab democratic revolution</b> pursues its seemingly inexorable, if chequered, course.
7	The burning questions will be about where the <b>Arab democratic revolution</b> strikes next.
8	Autocratic regime would rather fight than compromise on <b>Arab spring democratic change</b> .

Concordance 6.3: The collocate *democratic* with *revolution/uprisings/spring* in the Guardian

In the *NYT*, some collocates, such as *support*, *inspire*, *aspiration*, *popular*, *democracy*, and *given* have positive connotations. When investigating how the word *support* was used, I found that it is sometimes mentioned in the co-text of the American officials’ support for the Arab Spring revolutions. The verb *inspired* was used to describe how the Arab people in different countries were *inspired* by the Tunisian uprisings. *Aspiration* was used to describe how the international community supported the democratic *aspirations* of the Arab Spring. The uprisings were described as *democratic* especially at the beginning (lines 1 and 2 concordance 6.4). Some phrases/clauses were also used to emphasize this idea such as “the democratic strivings of the Arab Spring”, “the United States would be able to support the democratic aspirations of the Arab uprisings” and “inspired by the democratic uprisings around the Arab world to push for change”. The Arab Spring was praised at the beginning as it has “felled autocratic regimes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya” and “toppled Arab autocrats in Tunisia and Egypt”. However, after the bloody scenes in Syria and Libya and the expected risk on Israel, it was referred to with some conservativeness. Some voices in the *NYT* also highlighted the concerns of the U.S. after al-Qaida praised the revolts in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria and hoped that the uprisings there would eventually expel “the Americans and their henchmen” from the region.

- 1 The relatively peaceful Arab democracy revolutions are probably over. They have happened in the two countries where they were most able to happen because the whole society in Tunisia and Egypt could pull together as a family and oust the evil "dad" — the dictator.
- 2 The Arab democracy spring that begun with such exhilaration in Tunisia and Egypt is now enduring a brutal winter in Libya, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Yemen

Concordance 6.4: The collocate *democracy* with the *Arab revolutions/ spring* in the NYT

In the *Guardian*, the words *autocrat*, *autocrats*, *autocratic*, and *autocracies* were used to describe the overthrown regimes although such attributes were not much observed in period 1 (lines 1, 2, and 3 in concordance 6.5). The sympathy of some Arab *autocratic* regimes with their overthrown counterparts was covered; for example, it is mentioned that Qaddafi expressed his "pain" that the Tunisian former president Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia. The Arab *autocracies* were also described to be deft in using their own campaigns against al-Qaida to display their usefulness to the West. Investigating how *bloodiest* was used, I found that it is mainly mentioned in the Syrian and Libyan co-texts, where both are said to experience the *bloodiest* days of the Arab Spring. *Summer* was used to describe the period of changes that followed the *Spring* in some Arab countries especially Libya and Syria (lines 4 and 5 in concordance 6.5). For example, in one of the concordance lines, it was mentioned that "this is a moment when the Arab *Spring* could become an Arab *Summer* and we see democracy advance in other countries too" motivating others to look at the bright examples of revolutions.

- 1 The fall of Qaddafi will give new momentum to the stalled Arab awakening, bringing down another autocrat, perhaps in Yemen.
- 2 Mubarak is not the first Arab autocrat to face justice, but he is doing so, crucially, because of the will and the sacrifices of his former subjects.
- 3 So far reactions to the gathering storm here, which may soon lead to the overthrow of the third Arab autocrat in less than three months, has been to renounce the volatile leader and the compulsive savagery he is launching as his legacy melts away.
- 4 As the Arab spring fades into a bloody summer in Libya, Syria and Yemen, Egypt's relatively peaceful achievement - thought it still cost at least 846 deaths - looks stupendous but fragile.
- 5 Three countries, three stories Seasonal images for the Arab uprisings - spring giving way to summer, autumn and now winter - have a hit-and-miss quality. But the dramatic events in three countries on one weekend all point to variable weather.

Concordance 6.5: *autocrat* and *summer* in the co-text of the *Arab Spring* in the Guardian

In the *NYT*, some collocates, such as *violent*, *tumult*, *convulsing*, and *misstated* had negative connotations. Carrying out a concordance analysis for the word *violent*, I found that it is used in all cases to describe the events in Libya (concordance 6.6), perhaps because the Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings toppled the regimes there in peaceful protests without the need for clashing with the security forces. The whole event was also described to *convulse* the Arab and Muslim world. This motivated Iran to warn the Western countries from intervening in Syria, its long ally.

1	to be a decisive turn in the <b>Libya</b> conflict, <b>the most violent of the Arab Spring uprisings</b> .
2	may prove decisive in the <b>most violent and chaotic of the uprisings</b> that have upended the Arab world.
3	in the six-month uprising against <b>Colonel Qaddafi</b> , which has already become by far <b>the most violent of the Arab Spring uprisings</b> .
4	<b>Colonel Qaddafi</b> , whose death ended a brutal dictatorship and signified the <b>end of the most violent of the Arab Spring's political uprisings</b> .
5	to power with NATO's help last month by routing Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi and his military in the <b>most violent conflict of the Arab Spring uprisings</b> .

Concordance 6.6: The clusters *The Arab Spring/Uprisings* in the *NYT*

## Summary

The unique words analysis in the *NYT* and the *Guardian* showed that both newspapers focused on the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, and how the security forces in most of the involved countries responded “severely” to the demonstrations against the regimes. Regarding the 2011 Libyan civil war, Qaddafi’s loyalists and governmental forces collocated with words that have negative discourse connotations due to their cruel acts and attacks against civilians. In both newspapers, the role of the international community in protecting the Libyan people, supporting the rebels, and reducing Qaddafi regime’s systematic attacks on civilians was highlighted. The *Guardian* focused on the European countries’ efforts in helping the Libyan people, while the *NYT* highlighted the role of the U.S. in ending the conflict. This suggests that both newspapers, to a great extent, reflected the policies of the countries where they are located and mainly published producing narratives of ‘good’ wars, on the side of justice and emancipation. Lindström and Zetterlund (2012) argue that legitimising international support in Libya was linked with humanitarian threat that the Libyan citizens face, and the conflict was portrayed by media like a play in which good fights evil where Qaddafi represented the villain, some others (mainly France

and the UK) played the role of good guys, while the U.S. chose a more discreet but very crucial role as a prompter.

Unlike period 1, the similarities in the unique words in this period were more than the differences not only in the unique words themselves but also on how these words were represented. Two points can be drawn from this; first, the Arab Spring represented a turning point in the focus of the two newspapers, and second, the Arab Spring not only attracted the attention of the Western countries and media, but also led to some convergence of their political points of view on how to deal with conflicts in the Middle East. For decades, the United States and some European countries had the tendency of tolerating the violations of human rights in some Arab countries (Eran, 2011). Such tolerance might be interpreted by the fact that the leaders of most Arab countries are allies of the West. However, this might not be accurate as such lenient reaction was applicable with Iran, which has strained relationship with the West after the Iranian authorities' violence against the Iranian demonstrators following the 2009 elections. Accordingly, it appears that there are some other factors that influence the West's reactions to some events, and these could be related to the countries' network of relations and interests, leading them to militarily intervene in some cases and only verbally criticize and condemn in others. Such variety of reaction "conveys a message of double and triple standards, of interests overcoming morality, and of extreme action being taken against tyrannical regimes only when there is no economic and/or political cost for such action" (Eran, 2011, p. 16). Regarding the British reaction to the Arab Spring, Leech and Gaskarth (2015) argue that the British government's responses to the era of uprisings in the Arab world are criticised for being inconsistent and selective and seen as evidence of unethical foreign policy-making. Similarly, Kitchen (2012) refers to the United States' cautious and contradictory approach to the Arab Spring. Both countries condemned the government violence in Libya, and rarely commented on the brutality in Bahrain, Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen. Such signs of double standards were not clear in the coverage of the two newspapers which mainly used the language of human rights as a cover for achieving some interests rather than real concern for global norms. Therefore, although newsworthiness is an important factor in determining which news should be covered more, the country where that media operates may have its own preferences about the depth and emphasis of news coverage, especially when the discussed event is sensitive as in the case of conflicts and wars (Baum & Zhukov, 2015).

The next section examines the unique words in the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

### 6.1.2 Arabic Newspapers

Examining the most frequent words in the two Arabic newspapers in period 2, I found that there was a shift in *Al-Khaleej*'s coverage moving from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of uprisings. The focus on pan-Arab issues in *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued in period 2 highlighting the important events that occurred after the outbreak of the Arab uprisings in most Arab countries, and their effect not only on the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. In order to see how the regimes of the Arab Spring countries, and their forces were represented in the two investigated Arabic newspapers, I examined the unique words *نظام* *regime* and *قوات* *forces*. Beginning with *نظام* *regime*, I investigated its statistically strongest 50 collocates, and divided them into different thematic categories as shown in table 6.6.

Table 6.6: Thematic categories of the collocates of *النظام* *the regime* in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*

The collocates of <i>النظام</i> <i>the regime</i> in the Arabic corpus		
Thematic Category	Al-Khaleej	Asharq Al-Awsat
<b>Description</b>	الحاكم، القائم، الجديد، السابق، السياسي، القديم، السوري، الفاسد، الموريتاني ruling, current, new, former, old, political, Syrian, corrupt, Mauritanian	القائم، الليبي، رأس، الحاكم، الإيراني، الملكي، الجديد، القديم، المصري، سياسة، الديمقراطي، السابق current, Libyan, the head of, ruling, Iranian, monarchical, new, old, former, Egyptian, political, democratic
<b>Protests</b>	والمعارضة، المتظاهرين، القمع، قتل، شعبه، يريد، المطالبين، الثورة، المطالب opposition, demonstrators, murder, oppression, people, wants, demands, demanding, revolution	القمع، يمارسه، يرتكبها، المتظاهرين، قمع، قتل، العنف، شعبه repression, practiced, committed, the protesters, suppression, murder, violence, its people
<b>Demands and consequences</b>	إسقاط، سقوط، لإسقاط، الضغط، تغيير، ورحيل، انهيار، شرعية، موقف، الحوار، عقوبات، فرض، رموز، فلول، بقايا overthrow, fall, to overthrow, pressure, changing, downfall, collapse, legitimacy, attitude, dialogue, sanctions, imposed, icons, remnants, residue	تغيير، بإسقاط، انهيار، سقط، يريد، تطالب، إسقاط، عقوبات، بتغيير، شرعيته، يسقط، لإسقاط، رموز، فرض، أركان، عناصر change, toppling, collapse, fall, wants, demands, overthrow, penalties, change, legitimacy, fall, to overthrow, icons, imposing, pillars, residues



In *Al-Khaleej*, what first drew my attention is the absence of *النظام الليبي* *the Libyan regime* from thematic group one. However, as mentioned above, only the most salient collocates were examined, and since the word *الليبي* *Libyan* was one of the query terms used to compile the corpus, its chances to appear with a lot of words are more than the non-query words. In order to verify this claim, I carried out a cluster analysis for *النظام* *the regime* and found that *النظام الليبي* *the Libyan regime* ranked first (table 6.7).

Table 6.7: The most frequent clusters with *النظام* *the regime* in *Al-Khaleej*

Clusters of <i>النظام</i> <i>the regime</i> in <i>Al-Khaleej</i>		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
النظام الليبي	Libyan regime	344
النظام السابق	former regime	183
النظام السوري	Syrian regime	140
ضد النظام	Against the regime	98
مع النظام	with the regime	85
إسقاط النظام	Toppling the regime	75
تغيير النظام	changing the Regime	68

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the collocate *السوري* *the Syrian* does not appear in the first thematic category in table 6.6 although two of the main unique words in table 6.1 (*سوريا* *Syria* and *السوري* *Syrian*) refer to it. In order to check whether this is applicable when using other techniques or not, I carried out a cluster analysis for *النظام* *the regime* as shown in table 6.8 and found that *النظام السوري* *the Syrian regime* ranked first.

Table 6.8: The most frequent clusters with *النظام* *the regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Clusters of <i>النظام</i> <i>the regime</i> in <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
النظام السوري	Syrian regime	1,032
النظام الليبي	Libyan regime	537
النظام السابق	former regime	230
إسقاط النظام	overthrowing the regime	194
ضد النظام	Against the regime	185
مع النظام	With the system	167
تغيير النظام	Regime change	151
سقوط النظام	Fall of the regime	137

As shown in table 6.8, *النظام السوري* *the Syrian regime* was mentioned almost twice as often as the *Libyan regime*. This is also odd because the word *ليبي* *Libyan* was one of the query terms. However, in order to verify this, I carried out a cluster analysis for another unique



word mentioned above, namely *نظام regime* without the Arabic definite article ‘al’. The findings of the cluster analysis showed that *Asharq-Al-Awsat* referred to the regime in Libya as *نظام القذافي Qaddafi regime* rather than *النظام الليبي the Libyan regime* as shown in table 6.9. The cluster analysis also showed similar clusters with the regimes of Assad, Mubarak, and Saleh in Syria, Egypt, and Yemen respectively. This suggests that, in the Arab region, at least in the main Arab Spring countries, a whole country is centralized around one person.

Table 6.9: The most frequent clusters with *نظام regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Clusters of <i>نظام regime</i> in <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.
نظام القذافي	Qaddafi Regime	1462
نظام العقيد	Colonel Regime	337
نظام الأسد	Assad Regime	302
نظام الرئيس	President Regime	167
نظام العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi Regime	149
نظام بشار	Bashar's regime	90

Some collocates from the different thematic categories with *regime* (table 6.6) are examined below.

**Description.** In *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, the toppled regimes during the era of the uprisings were represented negatively. For example, the regimes in Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and Libya were described as *الديكتاتورية* “dictatorial”, *الاستبدادية* “authoritarian”, and *الفاسدة* “corrupt” regimes that looted the wealth of the country and people, in addition to committing massacres to serve their personal interests. When investigating the use of *السابق* *former* and *القديم* *old* with *النظام the regime*, I found that they were used in the majority of cases to describe the residues, remnants, and icons of Mubarak’s and Qaddafi’s regimes referring to people’s demands to completely isolate and exclude them from any political activities in the future in addition to holding trials for some of them. The collocate *رأس head of* was also statistically significant with *النظام the regime*, and this suggests that most, if not all, regimes in the Arab world are centralized around one person. Therefore, the fall of the whole regime is only done if its head was overthrown, and many concordance lines emphasize this idea (lines 1, 2, and 3 in concordance 6.7).

1	لقد تمكن الليبيون من إسقاط النظام في أربعة أيام وبذلك حققوا ما لم تستطع تحقيقه ثورتا تونس ومصر! لقد أسقطوا النظام وإن بقي رأس النظام حتى الساعة Libyans have been able to bring down the regime in four days and achieved what has not been able to be achieved by revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt! They have brought down the regime, though the <b>head of the regime</b> is still alive.
2	فالنظام العراقي السابق (نظام صدام حسين) يشبه إلى حد كبير جدا نظام العقيد الليبي معمر القذافي؛ حيث إن الدولة كلها مرتبطة برأس النظام وبالتالي فعندما انهار رأس النظام انهارت الدولة برمتها The former Iraqi regime (of Saddam Hussein) is similar to a very large extent with the one of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's regime; where the whole state is linked with the <b>head of the regime</b> , and when the <b>head of the regime</b> collapses, the whole state collapses
3	بمضي شهر على ثورة الشعب المصري التي نجحت في إسقاط رأس النظام الديكتاتوري في مصر After one month on the revolution of the Egyptian people that has succeeded in overthrowing the dictatorial <b>head of the regime</b> there...

Concordance 6.7: The collocate رأس النظام *the head of* with *the regime* in Asharq Al-Awsat

**Protests.** The collocate المتظاهرين *demonstrators* was mentioned in two main contexts. First, calling for the fall of the *regime* and chanting against it, and second, being suppressed and killed by the *regime*'s forces. The collocate القمع *repression* referred, in almost all cases, to the violence that the Syrian *regime* has committed against its own people. Some phrases were frequently used to show this such as “القمع العنيف من قبل النظام البعثي” “severe repression by Baathist regime”, “حملة القمع الشرسة ضد الشعب السوري”, “fierce repression campaign against the Syrian people”, and “القمع الدموي العنيف وغير المسؤول ضد المدنيين السوريين” “bloody, violent and irresponsible repression against the Syrian civilians”. Examining the collocate شعبه *its people* in Al-Khaleej showed the “inhumane acts” that some regimes in the Arab world committed against their people as concordance 6.8 shows.

1	ينبغي ألا نسمح لهذا النظام باستخدام القوة العسكرية ضد شعبه We should not allow this <b>regime</b> to use <b>its military force against its own people</b> .
2	الهجمات التي يشنها النظام على شعبه وبنية التحتية Attacks by the <b>regime against its people</b> and their infrastructure
3	لم يتخل النظام السوري عن العنف ضد شعبه The Syrian <b>regime</b> has not given up <b>violence against its own people</b>
4	رفضه ما يقوم به النظام السوري ضد شعبه، وأسفه لإراقة دماء السوريين ..His rejection of what the Syrian <b>regime</b> is doing <b>against its own people</b> , and regret on the <b>bloodshed</b> Syrians.
5	النظام الليبي يهاجم شعبه بصورة منهجية Libyan <b>regime</b> attacks <b>its people</b> systematically
6	سوريا/ رفض النظام إجراء أي حوار مع شعبه ومع شركائه في جامعة الدول العربية (Syria) <b>regime</b> rejected any dialogue with <b>its people</b> and with partners in the Arab League
7	لحماية السكان المدنيين من جنون النظام الذي يقتل شعبه في انتهاك للشرعية الدولية To protect the civilian population from the madness of the <b>regime</b> that <b>kills its people</b> in violation of international legitimacy
8	واصل النظام قمع شعبه بكل أسلحة الدمار The <b>regime</b> continued to <b>repress its people</b> with all mass <b>weapons</b>
9	استمرار الحملة الوحشية من جانب النظام السوري ضد شعبه The continuation of the <b>brutal crackdown</b> by the Syrian <b>regime against its own people</b>
10	إنه قتال النظام ضد شعبه...حرب إبادة، وحمامات دم، ومجازر It is a fight of a <b>regime against its people...a war of annihilation</b> , and pools of <b>blood</b> , and the <b>massacres</b>
11	ليبيا تدخل في القائمة بعد حرب النظام على شعبه Libya was also in the list after the <b>regime's war on its people</b>
12	إذا استمر النظام في قتل شعبه، هناك وسائل كثيرة لردعه مثل حظر الطيران If the <b>regime</b> continues to kill <b>its people</b> , there are many ways to deter it
13	بوقف عمليات القتل والتعذيب والاعتقال التي يمارسها النظام السوري ضد شعبه الأعرل المطالب بالتغيير والإصلاح To stop killing, torture and detention practiced by the Syrian <b>regime against its unarmed people</b> demanding change and reform
14	الجرائم الدموية التي ارتكبتها النظام الليبي ضد شعبه Bloody crimes committed by the Libyan <b>regime against its own people</b>
15	المجازر الوحشية التي يرتكبها النظام الليبي ضد شعبه الأعرل <b>Brutal massacres</b> committed by the Libyan <b>regime against its unarmed people</b>

Concordance 6.8: The collocate شعبه *its people* with *the regime* in Al-Khaleej

Concordancing the verbs *يمارس/مارس* (*have*) *committed* in the co-text of *regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I found that it is only used with the Libyan and Syrian regimes. I divided the generated concordance lines into 4 main parts, namely, the committed crime, the subject, the verb, and the object (table 6.10). The analysis showed that the Libyan and Syrian regimes committed جرائم “crimes”, مجازر “massacres”, أعمال وحشية “atrocities”, حصار “siege”, انتهاكات “violations”, قمع “repression”, and جرائم قتل “murder” against their own شعوب “people”, مواطنين “citizens”, المتظاهرين العزل “unarmed protestors”, and المدنيين “civilians”.

Table 6.10: The verbs *مارس/مارس* *commit/committed* as collocates of *النظام* *the regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

The verbs مارس/مارس <i>commit/committed</i> as collocates of النظام <i>the regime</i> in Asharq Al-Awsat					
Committed Crime	Translation	Subject	Verb	Object	Translation
القمع والقتل	Repression and murder	Syrian regime  النظام السوري	Committed مارس commits يمارس has committed يمارس	ضحايا	victims
المجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين	demonstrators
المجازر	Massacres			شعبه	Its People
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			ابناء الشعب السوري	Sons of the Syrian people
جرائم	Crimes			الشعب السوري	Syrian people
تضييق والحصار ومجازر	Tightening, siege and massacres			المدينة ومواطنيها	The city and its citizens
مجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين السلميين	Peaceful protesters
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			شعبه	Its People
انتهاكات مروعة	Horrific violations			الشعب السوري	Syrian people
المجازر	Massacres			المدنيين العزل	Unarmed civilians
الاعمال الوحشية	Atrocities			المدنيين العزل	Unarmed civilians
مجازر	Massacres			المتظاهرين العزل	Unarmed demonstrators
مجازر	Massacres	(the residues of) the Libyan regime  بقايا النظام الليبي	شعبه	Its People	
جرائم	Crimes		الشعب الليبي	Libyan people	
مجازر	massacres		المواطنين	Citizens	
العنف	Violence		الشعب الليبي العزل	Unarmed Libyan people	
جرائم	crimes		الشعب الليبي	Libyan people	

**Demands and consequences.** The strongest collocate with *regime* in *Al-Khaleej* was *اسقاط* *to bring down* in reference to the most popular political slogan connected with the Arab Spring, namely “the people want to bring down the regime” (Al Masaeed, 2013). Although the slogan first emerged in Tunisia, it was used frequently in almost all minor and main

protests in the Arab world. This slogan implies that the demonstrators left no space for talking about political and economic reforms or reconciliation before the toppling of the regime. They wanted to eradicate the regime from its roots, although what happened in almost all cases was removing the head of the regimes, and neglecting their residues. To examine how the collocate *تطالب* demand was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I carried out a concordance analysis and found that people in about 90% of cases called for the toppling of regimes in the first place. Other demands include achieving democracy, freedom, and reforms. Some collocates in this category such as *رموز* icons, *اركان* pillars, and *بقايا* residues refer to the components of the former regimes and the “clear” desire by some demonstrators to take revenge on them.

Accordingly, and based on the analysis of the unique word *النظام* the regime, it appears that both *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* are no longer taking the sides of the regimes, especially the ones that were overthrown. On the contrary, they took the sides of people, sympathized with them, and portrayed them as the oppressed and innocent who revolted against the repression and cruelty of their regimes.

The words *القوات* forces and *الثوار* the rebels were unique in this period in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*. In order to see how both newspapers described different forces and referred to the rebel groups, I created a cluster analysis for *forces* and *rebels* (table 6.11).

Table 6.11: The most frequent clusters with *القوات* forces and *الثوار* the rebels in *Al-Khaleej* and *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Al-Khaleej			Asharq Al-Awsat		
Cluster	Translation	Freq.	Cluster	Translation	Freq.
<b>القوات Forces</b>					
قوات القذافي	Qaddafi forces	1369	قوات القذافي	Qaddafi forces	1434
قوات العقيد	Colonel forces	277	قوات الأمن	security forces	331
قوات العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's forces	253	قوات التحالف	Coalition forces	203
قوات الأمن	Security forces	250	قوات الثوار	Rebel forces	181
قوات الثوار	Rebel forces	152	قوات المعارضة	Opposition forces	140
قوات المعارضة	Opposition forces	141	قوات العقيد	Colonel forces	139
قوات التحالف	Coalition forces	121	قوات حلف	NATO forces	112
قوات المجلس	Council forces	90	قوات الناتو	NATO forces	99
قوات حلف	NATO forces	61	قوات الجيش	Army troops	77
قوات الناتو	NATO forces	58	قوات حلف شمال الأطلسي	NATO forces	70

قوات الجيش	Army troops	54	قوات المجلس الوطني	National Council forces	57
قوات موالية	Forces loyal to (X)	51	قوات العقيد معمر القذافي	Colonel Muammar Qaddafi's forces	50
قوات النظام	regime's forces	50	قوات درع الجزيرة	Peninsula Shield forces	46
قوات حلف شمال الأطلسي	NATO forces	38	قوات المجلس الانتقالي	Transitional Council forces	44
<b>الثوار Rebels</b>					
الثوار الليبيين	Libyan rebels (accusative)	352	الثوار الليبيين	Libyan rebels (accusative)	342
الثوار الليبيون	Libyan rebels (nominative)	184	الثوار الليبيون	Libyan rebels (nominative)	151

Most of the clusters in table 6.11 are related to the Libyan case. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield Force* was mentioned 46 times due to its intervention in Bahrain during the period of the uprisings there. These forces represent the military side of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) which includes Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. The cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield forces* was mainly used in four contexts. First, describing the event of intervention as the most important decision taken by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as it contributes “under the sovereignty of the Bahraini forces” in keeping “vital interests” there. This was after the expansion of the protest movement and the state of “civil disobedience” in this “small” Gulf country (line 1). Second, emphasizing that the Gulf troops entered Bahrain at “the request of the Bahraini Government” and “at the invitation of Manama (Bahrain’s capital)” (line 1). This was also said to be in accordance with a formal agreement between the Gulf countries to participate in “maintaining the security” in the wake of the renewed clashes with protesters. Third, highlighting that the *Peninsula Shield forces* “did not participate in killing anyone”, but maintained the state’s institutions and protected “civilians” without “interfering in Bahrain’s internal affairs”. The fourth context is related to the interventions of the Iranian regime in Bahrain, claiming that the *Peninsula Shield forces* blew up Iran’s road map there (line 2). In order to justify the intervention there, it is mentioned that the governments and peoples of the Arab countries should support the *Peninsula Shield forces*, which is a “shield for all Arab nations” in facing Iran's plans in the Arab region, and “its terror” everywhere (concordance 6.9).

1	السعودية والإمارات وعدد من دول الخليج الأخرى بعد إرسال قوات درع الجزيرة إلى البحرين لإعادة الأمن والاستقرار إليها بطلب من السلطات البحرينية بعد المواجهات التي اندلعت بين المتظاهرين ورجال الأمن Saudi Arabia, the UAE and a number of other Gulf States <b>sent the Peninsula Shield forces to Bahrain</b> , at the <b>request of the Bahraini authorities</b> , to <b>restore security and stability</b> after the clashes that broke out between protesters and security forces.
2	وكانت العلاقات قد تدهورت بين إيران وبلدان الخليج بعد توجه قوات «درع الجزيرة» إلى البحرين في منتصف مارس Relations <b>have deteriorated between Iran and the Gulf countries</b> after the «Peninsula Shield» forces went to Bahrain in mid-March.

Concordance 6.9: The cluster *قوات درع الجزيرة Peninsula Shield forces* in Asharq Al-Awsat

The analysis above suggests that *Asharq Al-Awsat* reports events from the Saudi regime's points of view on the one hand and covers more pan-Arab news than *Al-Khaleej* on the other hand. *Asharq Al-Awsat*, in its coverage of the intervention of the *Peninsula Shield forces* in Bahrain, portrayed the Arab countries in general, and the Arabian Gulf countries in particular as one body against any foreign attacks and conspiracies, represented here by the Iranian regime. Given the newspaper's pan-Arab agenda, representing this issue using the strategies of positive representation of a group (Arab Gulf countries), and negative representation of another (Iran) is a way of promoting the notion that the Arab countries should be united, and protect pan-Arab security by facing any domestic or foreign threat.

I divided some of the clusters in table 6.11 into three main categories; the first category includes *قوات العقيد Colonel forces* and *قوات القذافي Qaddafi forces*, the second category *قوات الثوار rebel forces*, and the third category comprises *قوات التحالف coalition forces*, and *قوات الناتو NATO forces*. I then carried out patterns analysis for the clusters in each group, and only examined the verbs in L1 and R1 as shown in tables 6.12 and 6.14 (translation 6.13 and 6.15 respectively). One verb to the left and another to the right because the Arabic language has two types of sentences, namely verbal and nominal, where the verb precedes the subject in the former, and follows it in the latter.

Table 6.12: Verbs used with the three types of forces mentioned above in Al-Khaleej

Verbs with the different types of forces in Al-Khaleej						
NATO الناتو		Rebels الثوار		Qaddafi القذافي		No.
L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1	
قصفت	شنتها	يتقدمون	أعلن	قصفت	قصفت	1
شنت	شنت	يسيطرون	تسليح	تقصف	وقصفت	2
وقال	بدأت	دخلت	واصل	أطلقت	تحاصرها	3

4	شنته	تسيطر	يمثل	وأصيب	قصف	نجحت
5	تقاتل	شنت	أكد	يحتجزون	تشنها	قوضت
6	تشنها	هاجمت	تقدم	يمهلون	لمنع	أسقطت
7	تتهم	تستخدم	حقق	تطهير	لقصف	تمكنت
8	وواصلت	استخدمت	وكان	سيطرت		تمارس
9	دفع	تحاول	وأكد	تحاصر		يمنع
10	زرعتها	قتلت	انسحب	تعترم		
11	واصلت	انسحبت	تمكن	تعاني		
12	وطردوا	تواصل	استعاد	لشن		
13	أطلقت	دخلت	لمساعدة	قتلوا		
14	تطلقها	استعادت	لدم			
15	وهاجمت	أوقفت	تواجه			
16	يحاربون	تحاصر	تراجع			
17	استعادت	سيطرت	اضطر			
18	هاجمت	قتلوا	وبدأت			
19	تقصف	زرعت	وجهت			
20	واستعادت	تهاجم	وتدرب			
21	دخلت	احتجزت	تحاول			
22	واتهم	تستعيد	وأعلن			
23	وحاصرتها	تريد	تدعو			
24	وتركت	تراجعت	ودعا			
25	هزموا	أجبرت	يحققه			
26	ودحروا	استهدفت	يواجه			
27	وشنت	ارتكبت	يمدون			
28	لطرد	أعدمتهم	وسيطر			
29	وصلت	وغطت	دخل			
30	تستهدف	تقصفا	سيطر			
31	تضرب	تقترب	ضرب			
32	تحاول	تقتل	منح			
33	تراجع	توقفت	نجح			
34	تستخدمها	تمكنوا	عزز			
35	أعدمتهم	تتقدم	نجحت			
36	أرغمت	تحتجز				
37	اتهمت	تتعمد				
38	ارتكبتها	تسعى				
39	حاولت	تضرب				
40	قصفته	قتلتهم				
41	قطعت	دمرت				
42	تلقت					
43	تمارسه					
44	تقرضه					
45	تفقهقر					
46	توقف					
47	تملك					
48	تنتظر					
49	تهاجم					
50	تتعرض					



Table 6.13: English Translation of table 6.12

Verbs with the different types of forces in Al-Khaleej						
No.	NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi	
	Group 3		Group 2		Group 1	
	L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1
1	bombed	launched	advanced	announced	bombed	bombed
2	launched	launched	controlled	arming	bombing	bombed
3	said	started	entered	continued	fired	surrounded
4	succeeded	bombing	wounded	represents	controlled	launched
5	sapped	waged	holding	confirmed	waged	fight
6	overthrow	to prevent	gave notice	come forward	attacked	waged
7	were able to	to shell	to sanitize	achieved	use	accuses
8	exercise		seized	were	used	continued
9	prevent		besieging	stressed	trying	obliged
10			plans	withdrew	killed	planted
11			suffer	were able to	withdrew	continued
12			launch	recover	continue	and expelled
13			killed	to help	entered	launched
14				to support	recovered	fired
15				face	stopped	and attacked
16				fall back	besieging	fighting
17				were obliged	controlled	restored
118				began	killed	attacked
19				directed	planted	bombing
20				training	attack	and regained
21				trying	detained	entered
22				announced	recover	he accused
23				call	want	and besieged
24				called	retreated	and left
25				achieve	forced	defeated
26				face	targeted	and defeated
27				supply	committed	launched
28				controlled	executed	to expel
29				entered	covered	reached
30				control	bomb us	target
31				hit	approaching	hit
32				to grant	kill	trying
33				succeeded	stopped	fall back
34				boost	managed to	used
35				succeeded	progressing	executed
36					holding	forced
37					deliberately do	accused
38					seeking	committed
39					hit	tried
40					killed	bombed
41					destroyed	cut
42						received
43						practiced



44						imposed
45						retreat
46						stop
47						have
48						wait
49						attack
50						expose to

In *Al-Khaleej*, and as can be noticed from the verbs collocates in table 6.12 (translation 6.13), almost all verbs are logically related to fighting as their subjects or objects are either forces or rebels. The first category which refers to *Qaddafi forces* had the largest number of verbs as its clusters were mentioned 1623 times, followed by *Libyan rebels' forces* (688 times), and then *NATO forces* (288 times). Unlike the other two groups, group two (*rebel forces*) contained some reporting verbs such as *أعلنت* *announced*, *أكد* *confirmed*, *يدعو* *call*, and *دعا* *called*, and this suggests that the rebels represented a reliable source for newspapers at the time of the uprisings. This also suggests that the power formula changed in this period; for example unlike period 1, the Libyan people/oppositions are given more space than the Libyan officials represented here by pro-Qaddafi loyalists. Some verbs with positive connotations were used in group two and group three rather than group one. For example, the collocates *نجحت* *succeeded* and *حققته* *achieved* were mentioned in G2, while *نجحت* *succeeded* was mentioned in G3. Conversely, some verbs such as *دمرت* *destroyed* and *أعدم* *executed* were only used in G1.

The verb *قتل* *kill* was mentioned in G1 and G2. To investigate how it was used, I carried out a concordance analysis and found that it refers in about 85% of the times to *Qaddafi forces* that *killed* not only civilians and rebels, but also cattle. The events were sometimes described in an emotional way maybe to show the cruelty of *Qaddafi forces* that *killed* children and shelled residential areas. 10 % of the incidents were used with *Qaddafi forces* being killed in the *NATO* strikes, while less than 5% refers to some officers in *Qaddafi forces* being killed in clashes with the rebels. The verb *kill* was mainly used with *NATO* in the co-text of *Qaddafi forces* being *killed* by *NATO's* strikes. However, despite less frequently, it referred to rebels being killed by *NATO* air strikes.

Some verbs such as *قصف* *bomb* were only mentioned in G1 and G3, and this suggests that the arming abilities of *قوات الثوار* *the rebel forces* are not comparable with the ones owned by

*Qaddafi forces* or *قوات الناتو NATO forces*. I investigated the object of the verb to see who/what were affected by the *NATO* airstrikes. The findings showed that the most frequent objects in this context were some Libyan cities without indicating any information whether *Qaddafi forces* were affected or not. In some incidents, the objects were *مواقع من مواقع عسكرية* *sites likely to be military*, and *مواقع مدنية وعسكرية* *military and civilian sites*, and this shows that *NATO* not only targeted military sites but also civilian ones. However, investigating the co-text, I found that the negative effect of *NATO* bombing is mainly reported by pro-Qaddafi sources. This also suggests pluralism and diversity in the content of *Al-Khaleej* regarding this issue; covering the two competing truth claims and the different perspectives on the topic. Stroud and Reese (2008, p. 6) argue that “balance is easier to achieve on the surface by putting two voices against each other, and, therefore, the more tempting path to objectivity”. However, the voices that are more preferred by the newspapers might be given more spaces and final word (Phillips, 2015). The verb *قصفت bomb* was also used to show the destructive mentality of *Qaddafi forces* where people are killed and places are ruined. The bombing was described in many occasions to be on buildings used in the treatment of the wounded, besieged cities, residential areas, and oil installations and fuel tanks. The types of the military equipment used by pro-Qaddafi forces and the role of the Western coalition airstrikes in reducing the abilities of *Qaddafi forces* to bomb the cities were also highlighted.

I then did the same in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, i.e. carried out patterns analysis for the clusters in the three investigated groups, and only looked at the verbs in L1 and R1 positions as shown in tables 6.14 (translation 6.15)

Table 6.14: Verbs used with the three types of forces in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Asharq Al-Awsat						
الناتو NATO		الثوار Rebels		القذافي Qaddafi		No.
L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1	
قصفت	تدخل	وقال	لتسليح	قصفت	كانت	1
تشن	تشنها	يسيطرون	لمساعدة	أطلقت	شنت	2
عطلت	تقودها	يتقدمون	سيطر	تستخدم	تحاصرها	3
القبض	قصفت	تمكنت	يمثل	كانت	قصفت	4
تمنع	وأوضحت	وأعلن	تقدم	زرعت	استعادت	5
	تستمر	وأصيب	لدعم	استعادت	وأطلقت	6
	هاجم	يناضلون	قال	تحاصر	يقاتلون	7
	تستطيع	يستعيدون	تمكن	تقصف	تحاول	8

9	تراجعت	استخدمت	واصل	يتقهقرون	ألق	
10	تقاتل	بدأت	أعلن	يخوضون	ضربت	
11	وضعتها	تواصل	تزويد	يعلنون	قذف	
12	قتلت	قتلت	رفض	يفتحون	دمرت	
13	هاجمت	شنت	ويعتزم	تحاصر	شنت	
14	استخدمت	تتقدم	يقول	اقتحمت		
15	تستهدف	تراجعت	وانسحبت	أساءوا		
16	وتسيطر	تسيطر	نجح	تعمل		
17	واصلت	هاجمت	تعاطف	يقاتلون		
18	ومنع	تهاجم	أشاد			
19	يرى	حاولت	اقتحمت			
20	تقصف	تستعيد	زودت			
21	تتمركز	تسعى	تمكنت			
22	استمرت	تطلق	تمثل			
23	استهدفت	تعتقل	دخل			
24	بدأت	تقاتل				
25	انسحبت	تدك				
26	قتلتهم	تخرج				
27	صعدت	تحارب				
28		دمرت				
29		شاركت				
30		تنسحب				
31		اعتقلت				
32		تمكنت				
33		دخلت				

Table 6.15: English translation of table 6.14

Asharq Al-Awsat						
No.	NATO		Rebels		Qaddafi	
	Group 3		Group 2		Group 1	
	L1	R1	L1	R1	L1	R1
1	bombed	intervene	and said	to arm	bombed	were
2	lunched	waged	control	to help	launched	launched
3	disrupted	led by	advance	controlled	used	besiege
4	arrested	bombed	managed to	represent	were	bombed
5	prevented	explained	announced	come forward	planted	restored
6		continue	wounded	to support	restored	fired
7		attack	struggle	said	besiege	fighting
8		are able to	reclaimed	were able to	bomb	try
9		threw	retreating	continued	used	retreat
10		hit	fighting	declared	started	fight
11		hurled	declared	to supply	continue	put by
12		destroyed	conquer	refused	killed	killed
13		launched	besiege	planned	waged	attacked
14			stormed	say	advanced	used
15			abused	withdrew	fell back	target

16			work	succeeded	controlled	controlled
17			fight	sympathized	attacked	continued
18				praised	attack	prevented
19				stormed	tried	believe
20				provided	recover	bomb
21				managed to	seek	stationed
22				represent	launches	continued
23				entered	arrest	targeted
24					fight	started
25					tamp	withdrew
26					went out	killed
27					fight	stepped up
28					destroyed	
29					participated	
30					withdraw	
31					arrested	
32					managed to	
33					entered	

Most of the verbs mentioned in G1 were used in a negative way to show the cruelty of the Qaddafi forces. For example, the verb *قصفت* *bomb* was used to highlight that *Qaddafi forces* do not only target the opposition forces, but also civilians, health centres, drugs stores, ports, and other infrastructure sites. They were also reported to choose times when people are usually combined in one place such as Friday's prayers. Most of the verbs mentioned in the second group were used in a positive way highlighting the importance of arming and helping the *rebel forces*. As discussed in *Al-Khaleej*, not all verbs in this group are related to fighting and military actions. This shows the negotiation aspect that the non-military oppositions were involved in. Investigating how the verb *تعاطف* *sympathized* was used; I found that it refers to the sympathy of the *Libyan rebel forces* with their Syrian siblings as the situations in both countries were very similar. For example, they started with peaceful protests that were then turned into confrontations with the pro-regime's forces. The third category includes verbs that are purely related to fighting, and military purposes. Investigating how the verb *دمرت* *destroyed* was mentioned, I found that it is used to show that NATO forces destroyed a long-range missile sites in some Libyan cities. The use of the verb *قصف* *bomb* in this group varied based on the source of information. For example, those who supported the foreign intervention said that the Libyan fighters began to advance and found themselves in a better position after they were supported by the *coalition forces* that bombed some cities. However, if the source was the Libyan government, the verb *قصف*

*bomb* would associate with NATO's targeting civilian sites and causing some deaths and injuries.

Based on the corpus analysis of the three types of forces in the two newspapers, it appears that the *Qaddafi forces* were represented with 'severe' negativity due to their violence against the 'innocent' Libyan people, the *Libyan rebel forces* were represented neutrally and sometimes positively due to their rejection of oppression, while the *coalition/NATO forces* were represented both positively and negatively based on the source of information and due to their bombing to both military and civil sites.

## Summary

The unique words analysis in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* showed that both newspapers densely covered the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, and how the regimes of the Arab spring countries responded violently to the 'peaceful' demonstrations. In this period, *Al-Khaleej* shifted from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of the uprisings. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, and highlighted the importance of the Arab uprisings to the whole region.

Unlike period 1, there was a 90% similarity in the unique words in this period. This suggests that both Pan-Arab and national newspapers tend to have a similar focus at the time of conflicts especially when most of the Arab countries are affected. During the latest uprisings in the Arab world, both pan-Arab and national media have played an invaluable role in reaching out to the Arab public and delivering the information to them. Lynch (2013) highlights the vital role that media played in the 2011 uprisings in the Arab world pointing out that the protests were driven by the different forms of media. In the same vein, pan-Arab and national newspapers played a key role in spreading the protests from one country to another. Lynch (2015, p. 93) notes that "the diffusion of protest from Tunisia to Egypt and then to virtually the entire region is difficult to imagine without this unifying media environment". Unlike period 1 (2009/2010), some Arab regimes, especially the overthrown ones, were represented negatively, and described as "corrupt". Accordingly, it seems that the intense international attention to the Arab region at the time of the Arab Spring and the widespread use of the internet in the period of protests contributed in encouraging the two

investigated Arabic newspapers to scrutinize their coverage of the events where any systematic biases in coverage might be easily observed. Such findings do not necessarily mean that the two newspapers became independent from government influence after the outbreak of the Arab uprisings. On the contrary, it might be aligned with the agendas and policies of the countries where they are mainly published. In addition, newsworthiness elements that emphasize drama and conflict might have also contributed to taking the anti-regimes perspectives at the time of civil war (Baum & Zhukov, 2015).

The next section highlights some differences in the two investigated corpora.

## 6.2 Keyword Analysis

As before, I carried out a keyword analysis for period 2 (2011) in both English and Arabic newspapers by comparing the *NYT* and the *Guardian* against each other (table 6.16), and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* against each other (table 6.18). This will contribute to answering the following research question:

**3/B:** What does a keyword analysis reveal about the most salient themes in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* when compared against each other on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* when compared against each other on the other hand in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt* in the during uprisings era (2011)?

### 6.2.1 English Newspapers

As mentioned in chapter 4, some keywords in table 6.16 occurred only because they are related to the style of the newspaper (*Mr.* in the *NYT*), the country where the newspaper is located and mainly published (*UK*, *pounds*, *British*, *Britain*, *Blair*, *Cameron* and *London* in the *Guardian*, and *United*, *States*, and *American* in the *NYT*), and spelling differences (*Saif*, *Misrata*, *Sirte*, *centre*, and *organisation*). In this section, I selected some keywords mainly *LSE*, *oil*, and *Qaida* to be further investigated because of their direct relations to the main investigated topic related to the 2011 Libyan civil war.

Table 6.16: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 2 (2011)

Keyword Analysis (period 2)			
The Guardian		The NYT	
Key word	Freq.	Key word	Freq.
UK	1,648	MR	10,989
POUNDS	1,488	UNITED	4,360
YESTERDAY	1,565	COLONEL	3,910
UN	1,342	SAID	17,051
DEFENCE	1,093	STATES	3,407
CAPTIONS	783	COL	1,364
GUARDIAN	906	AMERICAN	2,391
CAMERON	1,436	DEFENSE	866
REGIME	2,331	MS	846
SAIF	701	OBAMA	3,160
MISRATA	670	MISURATA	827
NTC	491	PRESIDENT	3,701
EU	504	QAEDA	724
BRITISH	1,693	NATIONS	1,554
LABOUR	573	CENTER	700
QAIDA	448	ADMINISTRATION	1,346
CENTRE	396	OFFICIALS	2,524
PROGRAMME	340	ORGANIZATION	464
SAYS	1,228	AIRSTRIKES	579
SIRTE	363	SURT	414
LSE	318	PAGE	1,718
BRITAIN	1,580	MRS	545
BLAIR	416	CONGRESS	505
RAF	249	PROGRAM	403
MPS	239	GOVERNMENT	5,660
MOD	234	YORK	1,065
ORGANISATION	228	OIL	2,704
ICC	216	NEIGHBORHOOD	259
QADDAFI	6,953	SHIITE	258
LONDON	970	REPUBLICAN	642

I first investigated how the keyword **LSE** (the London School of Economics and Political Science) was used in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*. The relationship between *LSE* and Libya refers to the connection between Saif-Islam Qaddafi and the London School of Economics and Political Science. Saif-Islam promised to donate £1.5 million for the institute, while the *LSE* developed a program to train Libyan officials (Hughes, 2011). *LSE* granted a PhD degree to Saif al-Islam in 2008 (Delgado & Gye, 2011). Before the Libyan uprisings in

2010, Muammar Qaddafi received an *LSE* cap previously awarded to Nelson Mandela, and members of the School addressed him as the ‘Brother Leader’ (Cohen, 2011).

The analysis of *LSE* showed that the *NYT* did not cover much news about the event when compared to the *Guardian* that dedicated a good space for it. This is perhaps because the event itself is related to Britain’s internal policies and relations with other countries and has almost nothing to do with the United States. It also shows how the *Guardian* uses global events to talk about British Establishment. In the *Guardian*, the different points of view regarding the event were covered where some voices ‘severely’ criticized the University, its dean, and academic staffs, while others, to reduce the severity of the criticism, referred to the different links of the former Libyan regimes with some British governmental officials and companies. Surprisingly, this minor scandal of the LSE relations with the Libyan regime is privileged in the *Guardian* in the context of a war, perhaps because it is salient and relevant to the intended audience, is related to a domestic institution, has some negativity, and seems to outrage community norms because an important educational centre is involved.

The word ***oil*** was a keyword in the *NYT*. To investigate how it was used in period 2 in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*, I carried out a cluster analysis for it as shown in table 6.17.

Table 6.17: Most frequent clusters with *oil* in the *NYT* and the *Guardian* in period 2

Cluster Analysis for <i>Oil</i> in the English Corpus					
The NYT	R. Freq.	N. Freq. (per. M)	The Guardian	Freq.	N. Freq. (per. M)
oil prices	305	140	's oil	72	45
's oil	148	68	oil prices	72	45
oil companies	107	49	oil price	52	33
oil production	105	48	oil companies	43	27
crude oil	95	44	oil and gas	39	24
oil company	94	43	Libya's oil	35	22
oil and gas	85	39	oil company	32	20
oil fields	72	33	oil wealth	27	17
for oil	72	33	oil refinery	26	16
Libyan oil	63	29	oil reserves	25	16



Table 6.17 contains the raw and normalized frequencies per million words for the clusters that have the word *oil*, and shows that they were more frequent in the *NYT* than the *Guardian*. Examining how the *Guardian* refers to the clusters *oil price* and *oil prices*, I found that the newspaper highlighted how high oil price represents a serious risk for the recovery of the global economy. Libya was mentioned in the majority of cases when talking about *oil prices* due to the continuing concerns about the effect of civil war there on the price of oil. In the *NYT*, the cluster *oil price* was mentioned much more than it is in the *Guardian*. This implies the strong interest of the U.S. in how the price of oil increases or decreases based on different circumstances bearing in mind that *oil prices* have a redoubtable ability to blow up the world economy (Kumhof & Muir, 2014). In addition, the *NYT* has a much bigger business section than the *Guardian*; for example Moss and Ernsthausen (2012) note that the *NYT*'s business coverage is outstanding in addition to its lengthy business section in Sunday editions; "the *New York Times* fills the need for news on industry trends, stock prices, and corporate development. It is a source that should not be overlooked" (p. 37). Moreover, oil is one of the main reasons behind the US intervention in the most of the conflicts areas in the Middle East (Jones, 2012b) as this region has often provided the spark in oil prices' changes because it produces more than one-third of the world's oil (The Economist, 2011). The effect of *oil prices* on the American economy and trade was also highlighted, maybe to justify the policies of the US government both domestically and internationally.

Investigating the cluster "'s oil" in the *Guardian* (concordance 6.10), I found that it refers in the majority of cases to "Libya's oil" (lines 6-21), "Qaddafi's oil" (line 4), and "NTC's oil" (National Transitional Council of Libya) (line 5). Even, some incidents with the "country's oil" (line 24) refer to Libya. Some facts about Libya's oil were also mentioned; for example, "Libya's oil reserves are the largest in Africa" (line 17), and "most of Libya's oil and gas already go to Europe, with Italy, Germany, Spain and France as key customers" (line 14).

1	either to American efforts to control the world's oil reserves, or a misguided effort to
2	US, whose troops (in seeking to protect the west's oil) had, he believed, "defiled" his
3	oil price falls will be of no consolation to the UK's oil and gas producers and offshore
4	of motive. I do not believe Cameron is after Qaddafi's oil, but tell Tripoli's residents,
5	about the war to a panel of judges. The NTC's oil minister told the press that the
6	to guard it than us' Hisham Matar, page 8 ? 'Libya's oil wealth has created a distorted
7	and foreign powers who he says are after Libya's oil. Rebel attempts to move towards
8	on how badly the fighting had damaged Libya's oil infrastructure, they said, and how
9	. Most remaining foreigners are employed in Libya's oil industry, which has been shut
10	took the bold step in 1973 of nationalising Libya's oil industry. Qaddafi's Third Universal
11	war, analysts have warned. Up to half of Libya's oil production is now estimated to
12	involvement. The idea that a third of Libya's oil would be simply turned over to the
13	links are disrupted. About half of Libya's oil exports - the country's economic
14	patrolling the skies above Libya. Most of Libya's oil and gas already goes to Europe,
15	more questions than it answers," he said. "Libya's oil revenues belong to the Libyan
16	are bent on recolonisation and stealing Libya's oil. He would like nothing better than
17	given Nato's involvement in the uprising. Libya's oil reserves are the largest in Africa,
18	initiative from the beginning. Qaddafi used Libya's oil wealth to buy greater influence in
19	siege of Misrata. Qaddafi has long used Libya's oil to manipulate the international
20	to Qaddafi's claim that the west wants Libya's oil. No concept seems to carry less
21	in many parts of the country, and while Libya's oil fields produce only about 2% of
22	this is significant, any interruption of Iran's oil supplies would have far greater
23	of global output. Libya provides a 10th of Europe's oil and about 1% of global gas
24	in Libya has more to do with control of that country's oil resources than with support for
25	fares, as the unrest in Libya threatens the country's oil supplies. By contrast, in the UK
26	in the region. "Western sanctions, and the country's oil reserves, meant it didn't need
27	at a protest ? Jakhira oasis A German company's oil installation south of Benghazi,
28	- their rapprochement was the promotion of Britain's oil and other commercial interests in
29	in parliament and have little access to Bahrain's oil wealth. The security forces have
30	to choke global economic recovery? Saudi Arabia's oil wealth has enabled the kingdom's

Concordance 6.10: The cluster 's oil' in the Guardian in period 2

Investigating the cluster “'s oil” in the *NYT* (concordance 6.11), I found that it was used in more than 70% of cases with Middle Eastern countries in general, and oil producers in particular. For example, Saudi Arabia (lines 57-60), Iran (lines 47-53), Iraq (line 46), Kuwait (lines 43-45), and Syria (lines 8-15) were frequently mentioned as they are among the top oil exporters in the world. Libya was also frequent (lines 16-42) to show that the Libyan uprising is considered as a good example of how turmoil and chaos can disrupt oil supply since Libya's oil output has halved since the outbreak of the protests (Ratner, 2011).

1 and his family have been skimming money from Yemen's oil business for decades through an  
2 are responsible for around 35 percent of the world's oil output and, more importantly, they are  
3 North Africa, which account for 35 percent of the world's oil production and a greater percentage of  
4 in Libya, which produces almost 2 percent of the world's oil. More than 85 percent of its exports go  
5 on the peninsula that produces much of the world's oil. Together, Libya, Algeria, Yemen,  
6 but of what? Let's start with the Middle East, the world's oil tap. Libyans just joined Tunisians,  
7 Arabia has maintained its role this year as the world's oil producer of last resort, the  
8 moment, Europe buys about 95 percent of what Syria's oil industry produces, and Syrian oil  
9 oil production by as much as 75 percent. Syria's oil exports represented anywhere from 15  
10 of the Assad regime and is weighing sanctions on Syria's oil and gas industry. It also is watching a  
11 within a week, along with a planned embargo on Syria's oil exports. At least 2,200 people have  
12 , and European sanctions, in particular, harmed Syria's oil industry, which once contributed as  
13 by as much as 75 percent. Revenue from Syria's oil exports represented anywhere from 15  
14 sanctions that Mr. Obama ordered took aim at Syria's oil and petroleum exports. Syria is a  
15 now thinks that the market is "oversupplied," as Saudi's oil minister, Ali al-Naimi, said this weekend  
16 sent Russian oil production crashing for years. Libya's oil production has been at a virtual  
17 across the Middle East and North Africa. With Libya's oil exports almost entirely halted for the  
18 the Libyan people. Qaddafi was a master at using Libya's oil wealth to forge his international  
19 said, maintaining that the West wanted access to Libya's oil and the Islamists wanted to establish a  
20 suggested that the scramble to secure access to Libya's oil wealth is already on. Nearly 200 Italian  
21 worth \$5 billion. The deal involves access to Libya's oil and gas riches as well as a crackdown  
22 stakes in exchange for continued access to Libya's oil fields. Libya also demanded a higher  
23 Benghazi merchant, has also been unable to tap Libya's oil wealth. After attacks on oil installations  
24 . Over the years, Colonel Qaddafi has spread Libya's oil wealth liberally among numerous  
25 also be robust, multilateral solutions to safeguard Libya's oil industry from collapse. Ultimately,  
26 at the Zawiya refinery's control room. Libya's oil production remains about 40 percent of  
27 goals could give way to a tribal civil war over Libya's oil resources. Colonel Qaddafi has often  
28 loyalists that he can re-establish control over Libya's oil riches or they, too, will turn on him.  
29 tribes could fight one another for the spoils of Libya's oil industry; as in Iraq, some could form  
30 . MAP: Libya's Oil Exports: About 85 percent of Libya's oil exports went to Europe last year; 11  
31 installations that refine nearly 90 percent of Libya's oil production, pumped from the largest  
32 imports. Europe receives over 85 percent of Libya's oil exports. Italy is the major economy  
33 remained constricted. Production from most of Libya's oil fields was down to a trickle. Several  
34 crude-oil production to make up for the loss of Libya's oil. In the case of Bahrain, the senior  
35 Seif al-Islam managed to parlay partial control of Libya's oil assets and investments to help induce  
36 of countries, starting with potential buyers of Libya's oil and gas." Mr. Sacco believes that Italy,  
37 and other Western countries, not only because of Libya's oil resources but also because of the  
38 and scarce repair rigs. However, the war left Libya's oil fields and facilities in far better shape  
39 and tribal alliances supported by largess from Libya's oil revenues. ? Protests erupt in several  
40 a major export point and servicing center for Libya's oil industry. French officials said that  
41 preparing to invade Libya in a plan to control Libya's oil fields. In 2009, Mr. Chavez received Col  
42 world oil prices to their highest levels since 2008. Libya's oil industry was in sad shape even before  
43 customs paperwork for oil shipments. Workers in Kuwait's oil industry went on strike last month  
44 Libya have stopped amid the fighting there. But Kuwait's oil minister, Sheik Ahmad al-Abdullah  
45 oil dipped 0.5 percent, to \$105.02 a barrel, after Kuwait's oil minister said that OPEC members  
46 the regional government, financed by a share of Iraq's oil wealth, is corrupt and undemocratic.  
47 ." Some economists question whether reducing Iran's oil exports without moving the price of oil  
48 this month. The administration's aim is to reduce Iran's oil revenue by diminishing its volume of  
49 vice president, said: "If they impose sanctions on Iran's oil exports, then even one drop of oil  
50 program. Those sanctions have not focused on Iran's oil exports. But in recent weeks, the  
51 banning purchases of fuel from Iran. Cutting off Iran's oil exports would have unpredictable effects  
52 could impose harsh penalties on all buyers of Iran's oil, with the aim of severely impeding  
53 the sanctions — even if successful at lowering Iran's oil revenue — would force Tehran to give  
54 council. And Wahid Bugaighis, the interim government's oil minister, said that while the  
55 reporter accompanying Ali Tarhouni, the interim government's oil and finance minister, who visited  
56 council. And Wahid Bugaighis, the interim government's oil minister, said that while the  
57 . Treasury prices rose in the United States. Saudi Arabia's oil minister sought to reassure the  
58 Oil Minister Says Market Is Oversupplied Saudi Arabia's oil minister said on Sunday that the  
59 . In an effort to calm turbulent oil markets, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Ali al-Naimi, said that the  
60 to meet Libyan supply reductions, as Saudi Arabia's oil minister has said OPEC was ready to

Concordance 6.11: The cluster 's oil' in the NYT in period 2

The analysis of the cluster *'s oil* reflected some of the policies and agendas of the United States and Britain regarding their relations with other countries, mainly the oil-rich ones. For example, the analysis showed the United States' interest in the Middle Eastern oil in general when compared to Britain which is mainly interested in the Libyan oil.

To uncover the differences and similarities between how both newspapers referred to *al-Qaida*, I examined its top 30 collocates, and found that both newspapers frequently referred to al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb which operates in North Africa, and its role in the uprisings in Libya. The *NYT* quoted different US military and political officials who linked the toppling of Qaddafi and the death of *Bin Laden* and other *al-Qaida* leaders, and claimed that they showed the “strength of American leadership across the world”. These officials, including Obama, narrated the events related to *al-Qaida* from a collective point of view, i.e. by using the pronouns *we* (lines 1, 4, and 5), *us* (line 2) and *our* (line 3) (concordance 6.12). This use supports the notion of the ideological square; positively representing the self-group and negatively representing others (Van Dijk, 1993a).

1	Document <b>we</b> recovered from bin Laden's compound shows al Qaeda under enormous strain.
2	The drawdown in Iraq allowed <b>us</b> to focus on Afghanistan and achieve major victories against Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.
3	This mass murder was planned by Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda network in Afghanistan, and signalled a new threat to <b>our</b> security
4	... <b>we</b> <b>struck</b> at al Qaeda and routed the Taliban in Afghanistan.
5	... <b>we</b> could face a resurgent al Qaeda and a Taliban taking over large parts of Afghanistan.

Concordance 6.12: Collective pronouns in the co-text of *Qaida* in the *NYT*

The voices talking about *al-Qaida* in the *Guardian* were more conservative than they are in *NYT* warning of the danger of the post-Bin Laden era, and highlighting that *al-Qaida* may become even more radical. The *Guardian* also linked the events in the Arab world with *al-Qaida* highlighting that “Islamic extremists” have been marginal to the events of the Arab Spring.

The words *terrorist* and *terrorists* were collocates with *al-Qaida* in the *NYT*, while the words *terrorists*, *terrorism* and *extremists* were collocates in the *Guardian*. The *NYT*

covered some news about the American air strikes against *al-Qaida's* terrorist network in Pakistan, and referred to the US role in fighting *al-Qaida* in Iraq. It also referred to the relation between *al-Qaida* and the “democracy” uprisings that swept the Arab world and whether the fighting rebels in Libya belong to *al-Qaida* or not. In the *Guardian*, most of the incidents were related to the Libyan case, and how Qaddafi frequently described the rebels as “rats” and dismissed them as *al-Qaida's* terrorists who are supported by NATO. The former British PM, Blair, to justify his past relations with the Qaddafi's regime, said that he had been struck by how Qaddafi wanted to join Britain in the common cause of fighting terrorism in general and *al-Qaida's* extremism in particular.

## Summary

The keyword analysis of the English newspapers showed the *NYT's* focus on mainly two issues when compared to the *Guardian* namely, *oil* and *terrorism*. Conversely, the *Guardian* covered more news about the “suspicious” links and relations between some British institutions and officials with non-democratic regimes represented in this period by Qaddafi and his son. As in period 1, the two newspapers were interested in covering Libya's involvement in the international arena and its effect on the countries where they are located and mainly published, namely the UK and the U.S. In the *Guardian*, the Qaddafi's regime moved from being an in-group member with Britain in the pre-uprisings period fighting together in the *War on Terrorism* and helping Libya in its way to international rehabilitation, to be part of the out-group members not only during and after the protests, but also before them criticizing the regime's links with some British officials in the last decade. Although the two countries cooperated with each other in different fields, the focus in the *Guardian* was on the various connections that existed between the LSE and the Qaddafi's regime. The massive coverage for this issue in the co-text of a civil war in Libya is evidence of international affairs being domesticated, i.e. relevant when there is a local angle and otherwise only sporadically newsworthy.

As in period 1, the themes of oil and terrorism were present in the *NYT*. The Arab uprisings mainly happening in different parts of the Arab region reignited the recurring debate about energy security and the reliability of the Middle East and North Africa as energy suppliers (El-Katiri, Fattouh, & Mallinson, 2014). This perhaps explains the *NYT's* interest in densely covering news about the oil's producers in the region, mainly Libya who was affected by

the uprisings. The other key theme in this period in the *NYT* is related to al-Qaida and terrorism as the policy of the United States in the Middle East after 9/11 centred on counter-terrorism and defeating al-Qaida. After the outbreak of the Arab Spring, there were some concerns about the growth of terrorism in the region due to the case of chaos in different Arab countries; however there was no presence for terrorist groups especially at the early stages of the Arab Spring.

The next section highlights some differences between the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

### 6.2.2 Arabic Newspapers

As mentioned in chapter 4, some Arabic keywords in table 6.18 occurred due to spelling differences (الأميركية/الأميركي/أميركية *American*, أميركا *America*, الأميركيين *Americans*, الأفريقية *African*, and أفريقيا *Africa*), while others appeared in the list because they relate to the names of the newspapers (الشرق *Asharq* and الأوسط *Al-Awsat* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*), or the countries where the newspapers are located and mainly published (الإمارات *Emirates*, دبي *Dubai*, درهم *Dirham*, زايد *Zayed*, نهيان *Nahyan*, and الشيخ *Sheikh* in *Al-Khaleej*).

Table 6.18: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 2 (2011)

Keyword Analysis (period 2)					
Asharq Al-Awsat			Al-Khaleej		
Freq.	Key	Trans.	Freq.	Key word	Trans.
2,765	الأميركية	US	12,450	ليبيا	Libya
1,956	الأميركي	American	5,619	الليبي	Libyan
4,918	الأوسط	Middle	2,861	الانتقالي	Transitional
5,278	الشرق	East	1,969	الأمريكية	American
4,085	السوري	Syrian	1,678	الأمريكي	American
1,222	أعلن	Announced	2,334	الإمارات	Emirates
1,309	أفريقيا	Africa	1,313	إفريقيا	Africa
2,899	الأسد	Assad	1,490	وكالات	Agencies
1,430	مشيرا	Pointing	952	جنوب	South
883	أميركا	America	937	المصرية	Egyptian
4,654	عبد	Abdul	910	الدفاع	Defense
1,164	قائلا	Saying	894	العرب	Arabs
771	الأفريقي	African	882	عبدالله	Abdullah
2,451	السورية	Syrian	1,213	دبي	Dubai
4,657	سوريا	Syria	792	الجزائر	Algeria
21,238	القذافي	Qaddafi	770	مشيرا	Pointing

852	سورية	Syrian	760	الإفريقي	African
6,159	النظام	regime	956	زايد	Zayed
1,237	بشار	Bashar	746	حالياً	Currently
452	أميركية	American	674	روسيا	Russia
426	أميركي	US	634	يقول	Says
420	الأميركيين	Americans	3,120	دولار	Dollar
911	الصحافة	Press	1,195	آل	Al (family of)
430	الأفريقية	African	723	نهيان	Nahyan
728	أقول	I Say	630	درهم	Dirham
736	المظاهرات	Demonstrations	560	الإسلامية	Islamic
642	صدام	Saddam	577	السمو	Highness
1,865	إيران	Iran	525	مؤكداً	Stressing
3,882	نظام	regime	1,517	الشيخ	Sheikh
3,943	الثورة	the revolution	457	أمريكا	America

Based on table 6.18, it can be observed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* gave more focus to the Syrian case in period 2 than *Al-Khaleej* as the keywords سورية/سوري/السورية/السوري Syrian (masculine/feminine and definite/indefinite adjective), الأسد Assad, سوريا Syria, and بشار Bashar show. This does not mean that *Al-Khaleej* did not cover news about the Syrian case, but the whole matter is related to the space that the newspaper dedicates to one particular issue rather than another. Some words such as الإمارات Emirates, دبي Dubai, زايد Zayed, نهيان Nahyan, درهم Dirham, الشيخ Sheikh, سمو Highness, and أبوظبي Abu Dhabi were keywords in *Al-Khaleej* because of its coverage of different events in the UAE, the country where it is located and mainly published. Some other keywords that refer to pan-Arab issues were also mentioned in *Al-Khaleej*'s keyword list such as المصرية Egyptian, الدفاع defence, العرب Arabs, الجزائر Algeria, and روسيا Russia. I carried out a collocation analysis for the keyword سوريا Syria in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, and found that both newspapers described the situation in Syria as deteriorating because of the regime's violence against the innocent civilians calling the international community to intervene to rescue the Syrian people. The two newspapers' coverage of the events in Syria was in harmony with the stance of most Arab countries towards the Syrian uprisings, and the attitudes of Saudi Arabia and the UAE, where the two newspapers are mainly published, towards the regimes of Assad. Even prior to the uprisings, the diplomatic ties between the regime of Assad and most of the Arab Gulf States were strained (Hokayem, 2011). The Arab Gulf countries' points of view regarding the Syrian uprisings have been densely covered by the main Arab newspapers and news channels which are controlled in most cases by Gulf States, especially Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE. In the process, these countries "have allowed a non-stop, uncensored

coverage of Syria, hosting opposition members of all persuasions and featuring defectors” (Hokayem, 2011). Accordingly, the negative stance towards the Syrian regime in the investigated newspapers in this study is not only derived from humanitarian basis where hundreds of Syrian people are killed and displaced daily, but also stems from the agendas of the countries where the two investigated newspapers are located and mainly published.

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, if the Arab uprisings countries and the United States which appeared in the list due to spelling differences were excluded, *ایران* *Iran* would be the only keyword country in the list. I carried out a collocation analysis for *Iran*, and found that although the two newspapers have sometimes similar coverage of some events in the *Iranian* co-text such as its nuclear program, it appears that the focus in each of them is different based on the policies of the country where the newspaper is located and mainly published. For example, *Asharq Al-Awsat* used the *Iranian* intervention in some issues related to the latest uprisings especially in Bahrain and Syria to highlight the strategic alliance between *Iran* and some Arab capitals pointing out that this might lead to tear down the Arab unity. *ایران* *Iran* was portrayed in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as an evil power that wants to control everything in the Arab world taking the era of the Arab uprisings as an opportunity to get out of its isolation and rebuild its political status. In *Al-Khaleej*, the focus was on *ایران* *Iran* as one of the main oil producers in the world, and a member of OPEC, in addition to referring to the dispute between *Iran* and the UAE over the three islands of Greater and Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa, where each country claims having them. Accordingly, *ایران* *Iran* was represented, in most cases, negatively in both newspapers although negativity was much more in *Asharq Al-Awsat* than *Al-Khaleej* due to the strained relationship between Saudi Arabia and *Iran*.

## Summary

As in period 1, the keyword analysis contributed to understanding some of the differences between the two investigated newspapers’ coverage of some events and their representation to some people. For example, *Asharq Al-Awsat* not only covered more news about *ایران* *Iran* than *Al-Khaleej* as the keyword list shows, but also constructed it differently. *Asharq Al-Awsat* used the *Iranian* intervention in some Arab issues to highlight *Iran*’s influence in the region. In *Al-Khaleej*, this theme was rarely covered and the focus was on *Iran* as a one of the main oil producers, in addition to its ‘occupation’ to three UAE islands.



Even before the uprisings and as shown in period 1, the relations between most Arab countries and *Iran* have been strained especially after 2003 Iraq war that led to increasing the Iranian influence among the Shi'a Arab communities, in addition to *Iran's* nuclear weapons that might be used against them at any time. Since the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, there was some discussion about whether the new circumstances in the Arab region will affect the Arab attitudes towards *Iran* on the one hand, and Tehran's new role in the regional politics on the other one (see Chubin, 2012; Jones, 2013). In the context of the uprisings in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, Fürting (2013) argues that after the intervention of Saudi Arabia to thwart the popular uprising in Bahrain, *Iran* had the opportunity to open another front in its propaganda war against the Saudi regime highlighting that the Iranian media promoted the idea that the monarchs of the Arab Gulf countries intervened in Bahrain because they did not want the winds of change to reach them. The two investigated Arabic newspapers in this study, especially *Asharq Al-Awsat*, tended to frequently refute the Iranian point of view, and portrayed *Iran* as an enemy not only for the Saudi regimes, but also all Arabs. Similarly, Telhami (2013) argues that the concerns of the Gulf States about the expansion of the Arab protests to their own Shi'a populations have urged them to highlight an anticipated Iranian threat, and media is one of the idealist ways to achieve this.

The next section explores how *Qaddafi* is represented in this period.

### **6.3 The main investigated person in the study (Qaddafi)**

This section's main focus is to uncover discourses about the representation of *Qaddafi* in the four newspapers in 2011, and so it contributes to answering the following research question:

**4/B:** What does a collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* and other related terms in the during-uprisings period reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published?

Graphs 6.1 and 6.2, which were created based on the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words, show that the four newspapers have to a great extent similar coverage of the

events related to *Qaddafi* in period 2. February 2011 represents the outbreak of the demonstrations in the Libyan city of Benghazi which were later spread to other cities. In March, the UN Security Council authorized a no-fly zone over Libya, and the rebels asked the international community to provide them with some arms. In August 2011, the rebels controlled *Qaddafi's* fortress compound in Tripoli, and some of the *Qaddafi's* family members fled to Algeria. In September 2011, the NTC was recognized by the African Union and other 60 countries. In October 2011, *Qaddafi* was captured and killed, and the NTC announced its intention to hold elections in 8 months or so. In November 2011, *Qaddafi's* son Saif al-Islam was captured.

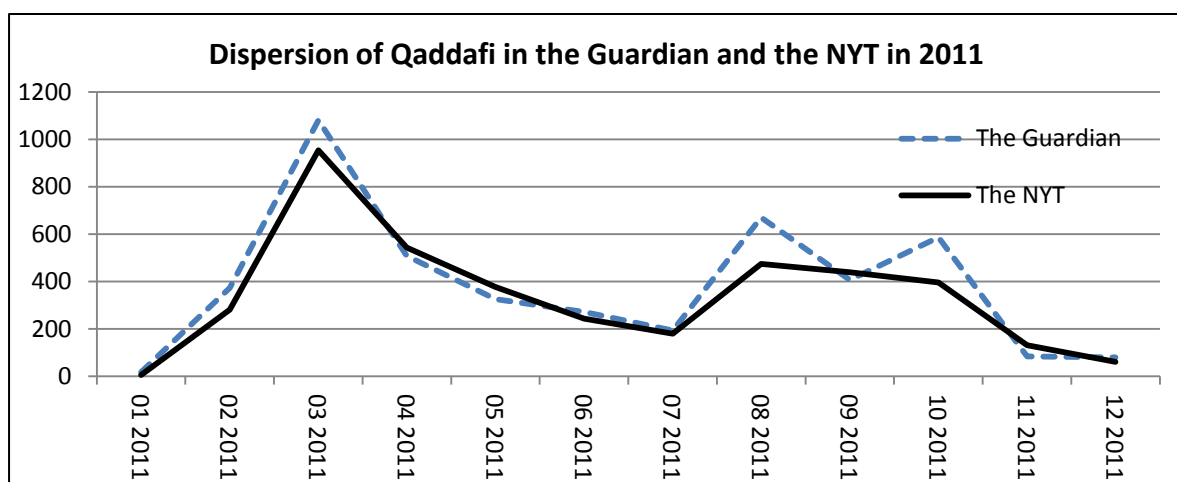


Figure 6.1: Dispersion of *Qaddafi* in the English newspapers in 2011

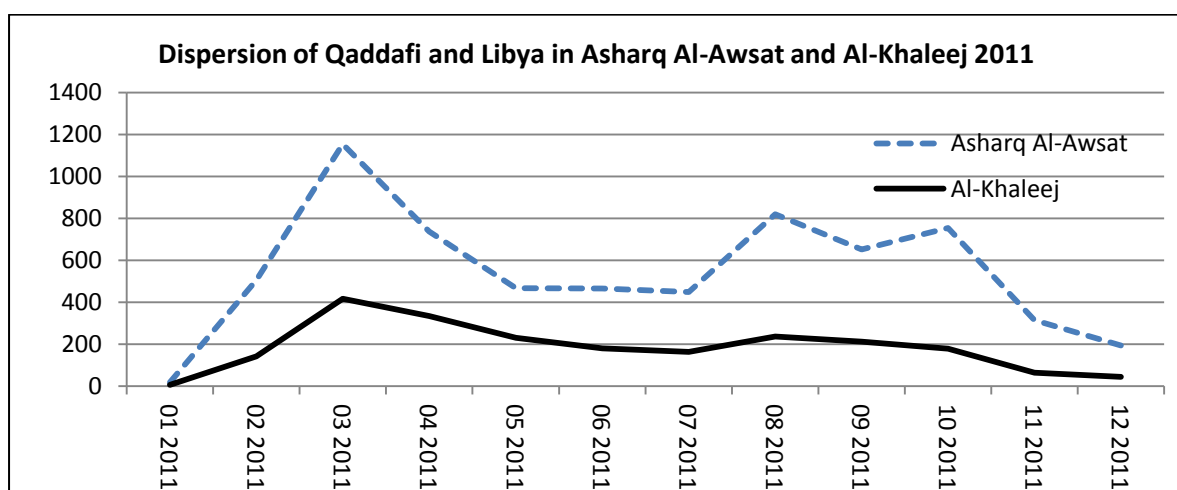


Figure 6.2: Dispersion of *القذافي* *Qaddafi* in the Arabic newspapers in 2011

As in period 1, table 6.19 contains the statistically strongest 50 collocates with *Qaddafi* divided based on their part of speech (POS). These include adjectives, verbs, proper nouns, singular nouns, and plural nouns.

Table 6.19: POS categories for the collocates of *القذافي Qaddafi*

POS categories for the collocates of <i>القذافي Qaddafi</i>				
POS	Eng.	Collocates	Ara	Collocates
Verbs	NYT	captured, believed, killed, fighting, killing, appeared, supported, left, led, saying, trying, held	Sh.	تستهدف، يعيش، أعلن، أراد، طالب، طالب، يحكم، يسعى target, live, declared, wanted, demanded, demanding, rules, seeks
	Guar.	leave, arrest, remain, killed, captured, fighting, killing, remains, accused, claimed, held	Kh.	يطالب، انتهى، أعلن، وأضاف، أكد، كشفت، قتل، مضيفا، قاتلا demands, ended, announced, added, confirmed, revealed, killed, adding, saying
Singular nouns	NYT	rule, leader, regime, fall, revolt, conflict, son, family, control, brother, army, town, campaign, stronghold, grip, end	Sh.	النجل، نجل، للعقيد، لنظام، الانتفاضة، الزعيم، شخص، حكم، ثورة، حكومة، وقت، بالعقيد، وابنه، لحكم، ونظامه، تعهد، قبضة، بنظام، جهاز، معقل، رحيل، مسقط، وصفه son (def./indef.), colonel, for the regime, intifada, leader, person, rule, revolution, government, time, colonel, and his son, and his regime, pledged, grip, on the regime, apparatus, stronghold, departure, hometown, described
	Guar.	colonel, power, era, leader, regime, end, uprising, dictator, attack, overthrow, daughter, son, family, west, compound, right, stronghold, image	Kh.	الزعيم، بنظام، نظامه، لنظام، ونظامه، إسقاط، نجل، إنهاء، عهد، مسألة، حكم، المحكمة، فترة، السيطرة، الثورة، سقوط، حكومة، العقيد، السلطة، ابنة، إطاحة، مصير، الانتفاضة، القبض، إشارة leader, (in the/his/for/and his) regime, topple, son, ending, era, issue, rule, court, period, control, revolution, fall, government, colonel, authority, daughter, overthrow, fate, intifada, arrest, in reference to
Adj.	NYT	anti, pro, post, loyal, close, long, ousted, apparent	Sh.	الليبي، ليبية، الأمنية، الشعبية، العسكري، العسكرية، ليبي، المصرية، المقربين Libyan (male/female/definite), security, popular, military (male/female), Libyan, Egyptian, close
	Guar.	anti, pro, loyal, close, western, clear, post, strong	Kh.	المقربين، الجنائية، أول close, criminal, first
Proper nouns	NYT	Muammar, Saif, Islam	Sh.	حسني، مبارك، علي، الولايات، سيف، الإسلام، لمعمر، عائشة، المحمودي Hosni Mubarak, Ali, States, Seif, Islam, Muammar, Aisha, al-Mahmoudi
	Guar.	Saif, Islam, Muammar, Aisha, Saadi, Hague, Bab	Kh.	سيف، الإسلام، عائشة، إفريقيا، علي، مصراتة Saif, Islam, Aisha, Africa, Ali, Misratah
Plural nouns	NYT	sons, loyalists, militias, supporters, Libyans, troops, members, efforts, leaders, opponents	Sh.	تصريحات، مصادر، مؤيدي، أنصاره، المناوئين، مسؤولي، مرتزقة، لبييون، محاولات remarks, sources, supporters, loyalists, opponents, officials, mercenaries, Libyans, attempts
	Guar.	sons, supporters, members, men, officials, loyalists, rebels, links, years	Kh.	أنصار، عائلة، جرائم، كتائب، أبناء، أسلحة، مناطق، المدنيين، الشعب، أيدي، مقاتلي supporters, family, crime, troops, sons, weapons, areas, civilian, people, hands, fighters

I generated concordance lines for some of the POS collocates in table 6.19, as the analysis below shows, and found that *Qaddafi* was represented, to a great extent, similarly in the four newspapers. Unlike period 1 (2009/2010) in which *Qaddafi* was represented mostly neutrally by frequently covering his visits and activities, and less frequently his absurd proposals, the collocational analysis of period 2 (2011) showed that negativity was present and dominant in both Arabic and English newspapers. Due to space constraints, few examples that illustrate key trends are discussed below:

### 6.3.1 English Newspapers

Examining the representation of *Saif Islam* who was described in period 1 as the public face of human rights' reforms in Libya in the last decade, I found that his speech on 20 February, 2011 represented a turning point of how the West looked at him. That was because he announced supporting his father's regime, and fighting with it until the last bullet. Unlike period 1 in which *Saif Islam* is said to be the Western-friendly face of Libya's future, he is described in this period as a central part in the repression of the Libyans and no longer a transitional figure or peace broker.

In the *NYT*, the adjective *long* was mainly used to describe Qaddafi's 42-year rule. *Qaddafi's* "42-year-long dictatorship", "*long* reign" and "four-decade-long grip on power" were said to be the main causes of the tumult and the case of chaos in the country. *Qaddafi* was also described as the one who has a *long* history of sponsoring international terrorism wielding violence both at home and abroad by financing and arming a cornucopia of violent organizations. Similarly, the singular noun *rule* was used with *Qaddafi* in the *NYT* in a negative way, and even the adjectives that were used to describe it were negative with more focus on the period that *Qaddafi* spent in power. Examples of these include: "Qaddafi's erratic and authoritarian *rule*", "Qaddafi's 40-year despotic *rule*", and "nearly 42 years of harsh and eccentric *rule*". The *NYT* also densely covered the destructive and criminal mentality for those loyal to *Qaddafi* who raped women, made violent crackdown against demonstrators, held attacks on Libyan cities and oil refineries, arrested journalists, attacked and arrested Libyan civilians, and followed filthy tactics by hiding among the population and moving in the battlefield using civilian vehicles. Examining the plural noun *Libyans*, I found that the focus was on how Qaddafi terrorized and intimidated *Libyans* (lines 2, 10, 11,

13, and 14 in concordance 6.13). The *Libyans* were depicted in the *NYT* as the victims that need political and humanitarian assistance (lines 4, 9, and 12). The Libyans were said to break the barriers of fear and uniting against Qaddafi (lines 5, 6, 8 and 15). The newspaper also covered the death of Qaddafi, and how happy the Libyans were after they received such news (lines 3 and 7) (concordance 6.13).

1	in Green Square in Tripoli, Colonel Qaddafi warned that Libyans would be able to take the battle "to Europe, to
2	of dammed-up words had just been unleashed. "By God, Libyans were afraid to say Qaddafi's name before, and
3	. Within an hour of the news of Colonel Qaddafi's death, Libyans were celebrating. "We have been waiting for
4	to help provide political and humanitarian assistance to Libyans under attack by Colonel Qaddafi's forces. Qatar,
5	February, he and other clerics issued a fatwa calling on Libyans to resist Colonel Qaddafi. Two days later, he
6	to stand up against Qaddafi and that it is our duty as Libyans to unite and end Qaddafi's brutal reign." PHOTO
7	the swift ouster of Colonel Qaddafi and real freedom for Libyans. Russia Says France Is Violating Embargo Russia
8	in Zimbabwe or Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in Libya. As Libyans rose up against Colonel Qaddafi, for instance,
9	its mission is to prevent Colonel Qaddafi from harming Libyans opposed to his rule, but European and
10	son of its strongman, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, warned Libyans in a televised speech that their oil-rich country
11	to the morgue. "Qaddafi is using Libyans against Libyans." In Tripoli, armed checkpoints throughout the
12	to end Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi's violence against Libyans. I have just returned from Tripoli, where I was
13	pariah. Colonel Qaddafi terrorized and intimidated Libyans by spasms of violence at least once a decade.
14	Muammar el-Qaddafi from slaughtering thousands of Libyans. But he has been too slow to explain that
15	open challenge to Colonel Qaddafi's rule. "Today the Libyans broke the barrier of fear; it is a new dawn,"

Concordance 6.13: Qaddafi with the plural noun *Libyans* in the *NYT*

In the *Guardian*, I examined the adjective *loyal*, and found that those who are *loyal* to *Qaddafi* were represented negatively. For example, they launched several offensives on different Libyan cities and oil facilities, and killed Libyan civilians. They bombarded and shelled Libyan civilians and cities, and captured photographers and journalists. They also raped women, and held children as human shields. Similarly, the singular noun *power* was used in the *Guardian* to highlight *Qaddafi's* cling to *power* and his misuse of *power*. In the *Guardian*, it is highlighted that *Qaddafi* and his forces *killed* and injured thousands of Libyan people, citizens, and civilians, and fired shells on cities. Not only fighters or even civilians were affected by *Qaddafi's* cruelty, but also photographers, correspondents, and journalists. *Qaddafi* was also said to use African mercenaries to *kill* the Libyans. In the *Guardian*, the plural noun *links* was mainly used to highlight the "embarrassing" *links* of some British institutions with *Qaddafi*. The singular noun *dictator* was another salient collocate with *Qaddafi* in the *Guardian* in this period, where even the main headlines in the newspaper after the death of *Qaddafi* was "death of a *dictator*" (line 3). I examined the plot

dispersion of this collocates in 2011 and found that it was distributed over the whole period even after *Qaddafi's* death in October. Some voices in the *Guardian* mentioned that the *dictator, Qaddafi*, was a man of eccentricities referring to the heavily armed young women who followed him at all times in addition to his flamboyant interviews and dotty gestures. Western governments and companies were criticized for “wishing” to do business with the *dictator* and his thugs (lines 2, 12, 13, 14, and 23), and how this was a source of “anger”, “pain” and “isolation” for many Libyans who rebelled against his regime (lines 5, 6, 8, 18, 19, and 20) (concordance 6.14).

1	Colonel <b>Qaddafi</b> , as tenacious a tinpot <b>dictator</b> as has ever existed on the world stage, now apparently clinging on to power in Libya only because he has no alternative.
2	CIA papers found in Tripoli reveal complicity between <b>dictator</b> and British intelligence services
3	Death of a <b>dictator</b> , 20 October
4	Captions: Faces of a <b>dictator</b> - clockwise from top
5	<b>Qaddafi's</b> been a <b>dictator</b> for 42 years.
6	If a <b>dictator</b> is as determined as <b>Qaddafi</b>
7	the fate of the fugitive former <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> .
8	The manhunt for <b>Qaddafi</b> : Battle for <b>dictator's</b> compound as rebels tighten grip on Tripoli
9	deposed <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> was captured and killed last month.
10	we emerge with no guilt on our hands - not even the killing of a brutal <b>dictator</b> .
11	Sirte, the birthplace of the Libyan <b>dictator</b> , Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b>
12	pounds 1.5m given to the London School of Economics from the family of the Libyan <b>dictator</b>
13	Comment: For the LSE, in thrall to a <b>dictator</b> , <b>Qaddafi</b> was pure roast duck
14	pounds 1.5m donation from Saif <b>Qaddafi</b> , son of the Libyan <b>dictator</b> .
15	Saif al-Islam <b>Qaddafi</b> , the late <b>dictator's</b> son who is also indicted by the ICC, was captured.
16	the Libyan <b>dictator</b> <b>Qaddafi</b> who doesn't think twice before killing his own people
17	the popular uprising against former <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> .
18	to topple a <b>dictator</b> through relatively peaceful means
19	to oust Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> , Libya's <b>dictator-in-residence</b> since 1969
20	Front: Fall of <b>Qaddafi's</b> citadel: Rebels breach Tripoli stronghold: No sign of <b>dictator</b> in compound
21	<b>Qaddafi's</b> driver tells of <b>dictator's</b> final hours
22	Hana <b>Qaddafi</b> : Mystery of <b>dictator's</b> dead daughter deepens - is she alive, is it the same person?
23	How Goldman blew \$1.3bn of <b>Qaddafi's</b> loot: <b>Dictator</b> was offered cheap shares as compensation
24	(cartoon)His most recent picture showed Assad trying to hitch a lift with outgoing Libyan <b>dictator</b>
25	al-Assad's regime will be the next to unravel after the death of the former Libyan <b>dictator</b> Muammar

Concordance 6.14: *dictator* as a collocates of *Qaddafi* in the *Guardian*

### 6.3.2 Arabic Newspapers

Unlike period 1, in *Al-Khaleej*, the regimes in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia were negatively represented in this period, and frequently called *Mubarak's*, *Qaddafi's*, and *Ben Ali's* regimes, and this suggests that these countries were centralized around one person. *Al-Khaleej* also tended to put the presidents of the Arab Spring countries in one category and

describe them in ‘negative’ ways. It is highlighted how *Qaddafi* intentionally faced the first peaceful popular movement in Benghazi with a severe violence because he saw any movement outside the context of his regime as a personal challenge for him, and a threat for his status and authority. *Qaddafi* is described as one of the “worst dictators” the world has known throughout history where the entire country and people are represented in his person. The Libyan people are said to suffer under his dictatorship the worst forms of oppression, violence, and alienation due to the regime’s denial of human rights in their simplest sense. Examining the singular noun عهد *era*, I found that *Al-Khaleej* focused on comparing *Qaddafi’s era* with the post-*Qaddafi era* referring to *Qaddafi’s* relations with other countries and the atrocities his regime committed throughout 42 years. *Qaddafi’s era* is said to be full of corruption especially in oil trade. Similarly, the singular noun حكم *rule* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* also had, to a great extent, negative representation. For example, the *rule* of *Qaddafi* is said to be dictatorial (lines 7 and 12), corrupt (lines 1, and 11), brutal (lines 2, 4, 5, and 6), criminal (line 3), oppressive (lines 9 and 10), and tyrannical (line 8) (concordance 6.15).

1	هناك الكثير من الفساد تحت حكم القذافي There was a lot of corruption <b>under the rule of Qaddafi</b>
2	مدينتهم عانت بشدة تحت حكم القذافي Their city suffered severely <b>under the rule of Qaddafi</b>
3	الجرائم التي ارتكبت في ظل حكم العقيد معمر القذافي Crimes committed under the <b>rule</b> of Colonel Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> .
4	ماضٍ أليم في ظل حكم القذافي A painful past <b>under the rule of Qaddafi</b>
5	إرث القمع وسوء المعاملة من حكم العقيد القذافي The legacy of repression and abuse of the <b>rule</b> of Colonel <b>Qaddafi</b>
6	المعاملة الوحشية التي يمارسها حكم معمر القذافي Rough brutality practiced by the <b>rule</b> of Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b>
7	هناك سياسة ممنهجة لاعتقال أي شخص يشتبه أنه يعارض حكم العقيد القذافي There is a systematic policy to detain anyone suspected to opposed the <b>rule</b> of Colonel <b>Qaddafi</b>
8	مستقبل ليبيا غامضاً كما كان الماضي في ظل حكم العقيد معمر القذافي طيلة 42 عاماً Libya's future is still uncertain as it was in the past under the <b>rule</b> of Colonel Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> for 42 years.
9	الانتفاضة التي أظهرت إبداعاً ليبيا فطرياً كان مكبوتاً في ظل حكم القذافي The uprising that showed an innate Libyan creativity that was subdued <b>under the rule of Qaddafi</b> .
10	لمراقبة ومتابعة حقوق الإنسان ونشر هذه الثقافة بين أبناء الشعب بعد أن غابت عنه طيلة حقبة حكم معمر القذافي To monitor and follow up human rights and spreading this culture among the people after it was absent during the era of the <b>rule</b> of Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b>
11	أغلب البنية التحتية في وضع مترد سواء المدارس أو المستشفيات أو الطرق أو الموانئ وغيرها من المنشآت في ظل حكم القذافي Most of the infrastructure was in a shambles <b>under the rule of Qaddafi</b> . This includes schools, hospitals, roads, ports and other facilities
12	حتى المدارس الابتدائية التي أنشئت في ظل حكم القذافي تشبه السجون Even primary schools, established <b>under the rule of Qaddafi's</b> , were like prisons

Concordance 6.15: (تحت) حكم القذافي (*Under*) *Qaddafi’s rule* in Asharq Al-Awast



I also examined the plural noun *المدنيين civilians in Al-Khaleej*, and found that the concordance lines can be divided into two main groups. These include: the international coalition' efforts to protect the Libyan people and prevent *Qaddafi's* forces from targeting unarmed *civilians* in various Libyan cities (lines 3, 4, and 5), and second (more frequent), *Qaddafi's* forces are reported to deliberately target *civilians*, hide in populated places, and use *civilians* as human shields. *Qaddafi's* forces' attacks on *civilians* were described as brutal due to their use to tanks and heavy weapons (concordance 6.16).

1	بدء العمليات العسكرية ضد نظام القذافي لمنع قواته من استهداف المدنيين العزل في مختلف المدن الليبية The start of the military operations against the Gaddafi regime to prevent his forces from <b>targeting</b>
	<b>unarmed civilians</b> in various Libyan cities.
2	توجيه ضربات ناجحة تستهدف كتائب القذافي التي تهاجم المدنيين في مختلف المناطق الليبية Successfully targeting Gaddafi battalions that <b>attack civilians</b> in various areas of Libya
3	الولايات المتحدة مصممة على حماية المدنيين الليبيين The United States is determined to <b>protect Libyan civilians</b> .
4	الناتو ملتزم مواصلة الضغط العسكري على القذافي من أجل حماية المدنيين «NATO» is committed to continue the military pressure on Gaddafi <b>to protect civilians</b>
5	والاستعانة بحلف شمال الأطلسي (الناتو) لمنع قوات القذافي من قتل المدنيين وتدمير البنية التحتية لمعظم المدن الليبية getting the help of NATO to prevent Gaddafi's forces of <b>killing civilians and destroying the</b>
	<b>infrastructure</b> of most Libyan cities
6	وجهود حلف شمال الأطلسي لمنع قوات القذافي من مهاجمة المدنيين the efforts of NATO to prevent Gaddafi's forces from <b>attacking civilians</b>
7	إن كتائب القذافي تستخدم المدنيين كدروع بشرية The Gaddafi brigades use civilians as human shields
8	أن كتائب القذافي تقتل المدنيين Gaddafi Brigades <b>kill «civilians»</b>
9	ذبح المدنيين، إن القذافي يقوم بجرائم حرب « <b>Slaughter of civilians</b> », Gaddafi is committing war crimes
10	قوات القذافي من قصف المدنيين وقتلهم رميا بالرصاص Gaddafi forces <b>shell civilians and kill them</b> by firing squad.
11	إذا استمر القذافي في معاقبة المدنيين وذبحهم If Gaddafi continued to <b>punish and slaughter the civilians</b>

Concordance 6.16: The plural noun *المدنيين civilians* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* in *Al-Khaleej*

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I examined how the adjective *الليبي Libyan* (masculine, definite) was used, and found it frequent in different clusters such as the *Libyan* الاعلام "media", الجيش "army", الوزراء "ministers", الشعب "people", الاتحاد "unions", المسؤول "officials", and النظام "regime". However, what drew my attention is describing *Qaddafi* as the *Libyan* الطاغية/الديكتاتور "dictator/tyrant" in this period (2011) after the state of full alliance in period 1 (lines 1 and 2 concordance 6.17).



1	إن الديكتاتور الليبي معمر القذافي يمتلك احتياطات ذهب بالمليارات، وإنه من الممكن أن يسعى لاستخدام هذه المليارات لإشاعة الفوضى	The <b>Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi</b> has billions of gold reserves, and it is possible to use these billions to create chaos
2	ربما يكون الطاغية الليبي معمر القذافي في أي مكان. ربما يكون في موريتانيا، حيث نشرت أخبار عن امتلاكه استثمارات ضخمة فيها، أو في جنوب أفريقيا	The <b>Libyan tyrant Muammar Gaddafi</b> might be anywhere. Perhaps in Mauritania, where he has a huge investment, or in South Africa

Concordance 6.17: Describing Qaddafi as الطاغية/الديكتاتور tyrant/dictator in Asharq Al-Awsat

The verbs حكم/يحكم *rule(d)* was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to show how *Qaddafi ruled* Libya since 1969 with an “iron fist”. It is pointed out in the newspaper that *Qaddafi ruled* Libya depending on the political and tribal differences in order to tighten his grip on the country without political pluralism and partisan. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the former Egyptian president, *Mubarak*, and *Qaddafi* had negative discourse prosodies being described as طواغيت “tyrants”. The Arab countries of Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Libya are said to be عزب “manors” for *Ben Ali*, *Mubarak*, *Saleh*, and *Qaddafi*. The use of this metaphor is explained by stating that the concept of a “state” simply indicates the rule of law and the existence of legislation that controls people’s lives; however, in manors, everything goes according to the desires of the owners. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I made a pattern analysis for the singular noun ونظامه translated as *and his regime* as shown in table 6.20. The analysis showed that *Qaddafi’s* regime along with his ازلامه “gang”, اعوانه “aids”, عائلته “family”, رجاله “men”, and ابناءه “sons” are described to be الفاسد “corrupt”, الكاذب “lying”, الديكتاتوري “dictatorial”, القمعي “repressive”, and غير الشرعي “illegitimate”. Other mentioned words, included in table 6.20, such as الاستبداد “tyranny”, البطش “oppression”, خطر “risk”, عنف “violence”, تهديدات “threats”, and طغيان “despotism” also have negative connotations.

Table 6.20: Patterns analysis for *Qaddafi’s* collocate ونظامه *and his regime* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

Patterns analysis for <i>Qaddafi’s</i> collocate ونظامه <i>and his regime</i> in <i>Asharq Al-Awsat</i>						
L2	L1 Trans.	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R2 Trans.
الشرعية	and his gang	وأزلامه	ونظامه and his regime	القذافي	العقيد	Colonel
المرتقة	dying	يحتضر		وأعوانه	الاستبداد	tyranny
<b>L 2 Trans.</b>	and his men	ورجاله		وعائلته	بطش	oppression
legitimacy	lying	الكاذب		وأبنائه	رحيل	departure
mercenaries	dictatorial	الديكتاتوري		وأسرته	سقوط	fall
	repressive	القمعي		<b>R1. Tran.</b>	تشدد	extremism
	corrupt	الفاسد		Qaddafi	دمرها	destroyed
	lost	فقدا		and his aides	التخلص	getting rid of

				and his family	خطر	risk
				and his sons	عنف	violence
				and his family	لتهديدات	threats
					فطغى	despotism

The plural noun *انصاره* *his supporters* was used with *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight the criminal mentality of *Qaddafi supporters* on the one hand and his psychological disturbances during the uprisings on the other hand. The plural noun *مرتزقة* *mercenaries* was also salient with *Qaddafi* to describe how he hired some people to suppress the Libyan “peaceful” uprisings, and practise violence against them (concordance 6.18).

1	«مرتزقة القذافي» حولوا الحياة إلى «جحيم» «Qaddafi <b>mercenaries</b> » turned <b>life</b> to «hell»
2	الثوار يواجهون الموت لأجل الحرية، أما <b>مرتزقة</b> القذافي فيواجهون الموت لأجل المال The rebels has faced death for freedom, while Qaddafi's <b>mercenaries</b> face death for money
3	الزعيم الليبي معمر القذافي يستعين بـ« <b>مرتزقة</b> وبلطجية» لقمع شعبه Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi uses « <b>mercenaries</b> and <b>thugs</b> » to suppress his people
4	إن <b>مرتزقة</b> من أفريقيا قتلوا العشرات بناء على أوامر الزعيم الليبي <b>Mercenaries</b> from Africa killed dozens on the Libyan leader's orders.
5	<b>وحشية ودموية</b> قوات القذافي من <b>مرتزقة</b> أو منتفعين <b>the Brutal and bloody nature</b> of Gaddafi forces, <b>mercenaries</b> or beneficiaries
6	ونفشي حالات <b>القمع</b> التي يمارسها <b>مرتزقة</b> القذافي rampant cases of <b>repression</b> practiced by Gaddafi <b>mercenaries</b>
7	<b>مرتزقة</b> القذافي في سرت، يقومون بتغطية وجوه الأهالي ووضعهم في مقدمة قواتهم Gaddafi <b>Mercenaries</b> in Sirte, has covered the faces of the people and put them at the forefront of their troops
8	آلة <b>القتل الغمعية</b> من قبل <b>مرتزقة</b> القذافي <b>Repressive killing</b> machine by Gaddafi <b>mercenaries</b>

Concordance 6.18: The plural noun *مرتزقة* *mercenaries* as a collocate of *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

## Summary

The POS collocates of *Qaddafi* in period 2 (2011), which represents the year when most of the uprisings began, showed how the newspapers moved from describing *Qaddafi* neutrally and sometimes positively in period 1 (2009/2010) to severe negativity in this period. They highlighted his use of excessive power against his own people during the 2011 Libyan civil war, and criticized his policies and behaviours during his 42 years in power. The *NYT* moved from indirect negativity to direct and severe criticism to *Qaddafi*, while the *Guardian* shifted from neutral representation of the Libyan leader to severe criticism. Both Arabic newspapers moved from positivity to indirect and sometimes direct negativity

although *Al-Khaleej* appeared to be more conservative in showing the negativity of *Qaddafi* than *Asharq Al-Awsat* which was more open and described *Qaddafi* for several times as the Libyan الدكتاتور “dictator” and الطاغية “tyrant”. This shows that the four newspapers’ representations of the regimes of some countries involved in the Arab uprisings have changed based on different factors that perhaps include the policies and agendas of the newspapers and the countries where they are located and mainly published, and the outcomes of the Arab Spring that led to the toppling of four of the long standing regimes.

In this period, more stories about *Qaddafi* and *Libya* were covered in the four newspapers. Baum and Groeling (2010) highlight that media organizations tend to report more events involving conflicts or bad news. The analysis of the POS collocates of *Qaddafi* suggests that there was a tendency in the four investigated newspapers of overlooking the NATO and rebels mistakes and highlighting the ones committed by the *Qaddafi* forces. Such tendency perhaps reflects rally-around-the-flag effects as the countries where the four newspapers are published took part in or supported the intervention of the international coalition. Moreover, news organizations favor unusual, large-scale developments that represent a change from the status quo, and so to show the illegitimacy of the status quo, civilian victimization was observed in the four newspapers densely covering the stories that followed the *Qaddafi* government’s atrocities more than anti-civilian violence caused by rebels and NATO.

The *NYT*’s representation of *Qaddafi* in this period was not too different from period 1, where his identity was constructed mainly neutrally and negatively in 2009/2010, while more negativity was present in 2011. To better understand the reasons behind this negative representation, I examined the contextual background of the relationship between Libya and the United States. As shown in chapter two, *Qaddafi* maintained tight control of Libya since he came to power in 1969. The decades of mutual hostility between *Qaddafi* and the United States, to a great extent, strengthened the regime, and contributed to its longevity (Zunes, 2011). *Qaddafi*’s bad record of human rights was known to all, prohibiting the formation of political parties and the establishment of independent human rights organizations, and torturing and murdering political prisoners. However, such *internal* repression was never a major concern of the eight administrations of the United States that have governed since *Qaddafi* seized power (Zunes, 2011) bearing in mind that the U.S supported and cooperated with other repressive regimes in the Middle East and North Africa to ‘achieve’ stability in the

region. After the outbreak of the Libyan Spring, the United States took it as an opportunity to isolate, punish and threaten the regime of Qaddafi as part of its 'support' for democracy in Libya. The *NYT*'s tendency to refer to the crimes committed by the Qaddafi's regime over 42 years in Libya is perhaps a way to legitimize any actions (to be) taken by the United States and rationalize the US foreign policy highlighting the regime's repression, lack of basic human rights, terrorism, and nuclear ambitions.

The *Guardian* by frequently describing *Qaddafi* negatively, and referring to the previous 'suspicious' relations between the UK and the Qaddafi's regime showed how the outbreak of the Arab Spring caused some changes in the stance and attitudes of some countries towards others; for example Britain moved from being an ally to Libya, to be one of the toughest countries against the Qaddafi regime pushing for an armed intervention against it. However, this decision of the intervention, despite being interpreted as a way to spread peace, prosperity, democracy and security, was not taken in other Arab Spring countries; for example the UK remained almost silent, and adopted a much rather low-profile stance with some other uprisings as happened with Bahrain perhaps due to Anglo-Saudi special relationship (Cristiani, 2014). In the Libyan context, oil historically played a major role in determining Britain's reaction to what happens in the region. For example, after the period of the diplomatic relations' break with Libya between 1984 and 1999, among the new phase of rapprochement's first steps was the return of BP in the Libyan oil market. However, one might wonder about the motivations of the British intervention in Libya in spite of the relatively good relations with Qaddafi. According to Cristiani (2014), for Britain, removing Qaddafi from power was the main interest in dealing with the uprisings in Libya:

Despite the rapprochement of the 2000s, the lack of trust and the fears concerning a strengthened, post-revolution Jamahiriya were far too strong. As such, supporting the rebels were a major strategic imperative, despite the fears of a post-Qaddafi chaos. This showed once again the existence of a sort of consistent inconsistency in the British foreign policy in the region: while the normative rhetoric of its action is clear, its actual deployment is rather selective (p. 8)

Accordingly, the description of Qaddafi in the *Guardian* in periods one and two was to a great extent in harmony with the foreign policy of the UK representing him neutrally and

sometimes positively in period 1 perhaps to justify the British links with his regime, and extremely negatively in period 2 maybe to legitimize the country's intervention to overthrow his regime. Looking at Qaddafi's representation in the *Guardian* from a different angle, it seems that the newspaper is influenced by the government as sources and by the wire services that it draws on although it also has its own correspondents in Libya. In addition, it appears that the differences between this period and the pre-uprisings period are strongly shaped by the topics covered; Megrahi in period 1 and the uprisings in this period. The *Guardian*, because of its ideological position, was sometimes critical of the UK and Scottish governments, and so sympathetic to Megrahi, but also pro-human rights, and so sometimes critical of Libya. In this period, the human rights side was more dominant perhaps due to the violence of Qaddafi on the one hand, and the British leading role to protect the civilians on the other hand and so negativity around Qaddafi was clearer and stronger when compared to period 1.

The shift in the representation of *Qaddafi* was clearer in the Arabic newspapers than their English counterparts where Qaddafi turned out from being 'good' contributing to solving different conflicts in the Arab world and Africa to an 'evil' that had committed different atrocities and caused different troubles in several areas around the world. After the outbreak of the Libyan uprisings, the two Arabic newspapers apparently took the side of people building a sense of solidarity with the Libyan citizens in their way towards democracy. That was in harmony with the Arab League request to the UN Security Council to impose a no-fly zone in Libya which paved the way to the military campaign to protect the Libyan civilians at later stages. This request was perhaps a result of Qaddafi's unambiguous brutality and his belligerence towards his Arab neighbours (Ramoin et al., 2012). What drew my attention in the two Arabic newspapers' coverage of news of Qaddafi is that they did only refer to his crimes in Libya and abroad at the time of the uprisings, but also his 'destructive' mentality throughout his rule from 1969 to 2011, and this suggests that the Arab Spring helped the Arab media get 'some' transparency. However, it also reflects the 'hypocrisy' and lack of credibility of the Arab media as they very rarely refer to the violence of the Arab leaders while in office, and it seems that the president should be overthrown first before such transparency happens.

Based on the analysis above, it appears that the four newspapers portrayed Qaddafi as bad and evil and ‘others’ represented by the international coalition in the English newspapers, and the Arab League in their Arabic counterpart as good. The other mainly involved actor in the civil war, represented by the rebels, had a mixture of neutral, positive, and, in few occasions, negative representation. Lindström and Zetterlund (2012, p. 13) argue that “the conflict in Libya was in many ways portrayed in media like a play where good fights evil”. That might be because of the controversial character of Qaddafi and his involvement in different ‘violent’ acts around the world on the one hand, and to legitimize the different actions (to be) taken in Libya on the other hand.

## 6.4 Period 2 discussion

In this section, I used different corpus linguistic techniques, namely frequency, keywords, collocation and concordance to examine the differences and similarities in the English and Arabic newspapers’ representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in 2011, the year when most of the uprisings in the Arab world began and ended.

The main findings of the analysis in this period can be summarized as follows:

- In this period, the similarities between the four newspapers were more than the differences although each newspaper kept its style i.e. there was a convergence of opinions in the investigated newspapers where the main discussed themes, along with the ‘peaks and troughs’(Gabrielatos, McEnery, Diggle, & Baker, 2012) of coverage and the demonization of Qaddafi are similar in all the four newspapers.
- Qaddafi and his forces/loyalists were represented negatively in the four newspapers.
- The Libyan rebels were, in the majority of cases, represented positively in the investigated newspapers especially the Arabic ones.
- NATO’s role in Libya was densely covered in the four newspapers especially the English ones.
- The Arab Spring was praised and represented positively in the English newspapers especially at its beginning.

- Iran was mentioned frequently in the co-text of the Arab uprisings in the Arabic corpus, especially *Asharq Al-Awsat*.

The main investigated event in this thesis represented by the Arab uprisings occurred in this period. Therefore, I mainly examined the newspapers' coverage of this event on the one hand, and checked whether there were differences on how *Qaddafi* was represented when compared to period 1 on the other hand. At the time of the conflicts, Galtung (2006) argues that media reporting is war-oriented, and highlights that war journalism is a product of the modern state system, and so mirrors the dominant ideologies inherent to that environment. In the process of covering war, the event is portrayed to be between *us* vs. *them* or *good* vs. *evil* where the *others* are portrayed to be the problem and *us* presenting a solution for it. Galtung (2006) understands war journalism as propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented, and victory-oriented being mainly concerned with showing the negative side and attributes of 'the others' while hiding those of its own, giving credence to the powerful elite, and highlighting the victories achieved. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, pp. 95-97) mention six claims/factors of war fuelling or convincing the public that the military action (to be) taken is necessary. I think these claims contribute to explaining the way how the 2011 Libyan civil war and the West intervention there were represented in the investigated newspapers. These include:

- 'We are under threat': Qaddafi was represented as a rogue leader who used to have dangerous weapons
- 'We have the support of Military allies': Not only Britain and the U.S, and some Arab States were involved in the war, but also the international community, NATO, Arab League, and most importantly the Libyans who are repressed.
- 'We are taking on "evil-doers"': This was achieved by frequently referring to the crimes committed by Qaddafi and his forces not only during the civil war, but also throughout his 42-year-rule.
- 'We are left with no alternative': The diplomatic efforts and strategies of the international community and the Arab League to solve the problem, and the Qaddafi's regime rejection to accept a peaceful solution were highlighted. Accordingly, the international community was left with no choice, but war.
- 'We must save them': The newspapers highlighted the roles of the U.K, the U.S, and the Arab League in supporting the democratic uprisings in Libya by taking a stand against evil, and saving the innocent Libyans from their cruel leaders.

- 'We must act now': Qaddafi's ongoing atrocities and violence were densely covered, and so the lack of time to act with peaceful means was highlighted.

Richardson (2004) examined articles reporting Iraq during the UN Special Commission to inspect Iraq's production of mass destruction weapons, and found that the British broadsheets employed similar discursive strategies to support arguments for intervention (see figure 6.3 taken from (Richardson, 2004, p. 156)).

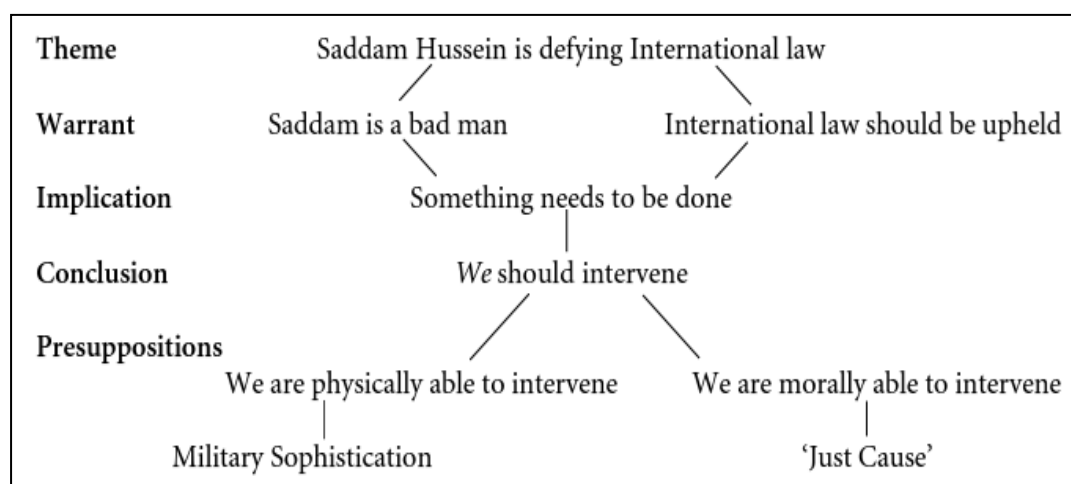


Figure 6.3: Discursive Strategy in the broadsheets' reporting of Iraq (Richardson, 2004, p. 156)

Applying these strategies on this study, I found that the investigated four newspapers used similar techniques where the theme of the reporting was *Muammar Qaddafi's defiance of international law*; he committed different terrorist acts around the world, and used different types of weapons to kill his own people. In addition to this, they claimed that *Qaddafi is a bad man*, and *international law should be upheld*. Based on such 'themes' and 'warrants', it is implied that *something needs to be done* in Libya. This was followed by drawing a conclusion that *we should intervene* bearing in mind that we have the physical ability (the military sophistication to act), and the moral ability to act.

The findings of the unique words analysis in the English newspapers showed the acts that Qaddafi's forces and loyalists committed against civilians. The Libyan rebels, in most cases, had positive representations, and were described as "Libyan patriots" who do their best to protect Libya from the oppression, repression, and suppression of Qaddafi. Both newspapers highlighted the role of NATO's intervention in protecting the Libyan people, reducing



Qaddafi's systematic attacks on the Libyan people, and supporting the rebels. The *Guardian* focused on the European countries that played a "significant" role in the imposition of the no-fly zone in Libya especially Britain and France. Conversely, the *NYT* highlighted the critical role that the U.S. played in spite of its new policy of leading from behind to force the Europeans to "take primary responsibility for a crisis management operation in their own back yard" (Krauthammer, 2011; Lizza, 2011). In the two English newspapers, the Arab Spring was represented positively and described as democratic on some occasions especially at the beginning. However, after the outbreak of civil wars in Libya and Syria, the phrase was used with a kind of conservativeness. Unlike period 1, the similarities in the unique words in this period were more than the differences not only in the unique words themselves but also on how these words were represented. Two points can be drawn from this; first, the Arab Spring represented a turning point in the focus of the two newspapers, and second, the Arab Spring not only attracted the attention of the Western countries, but also led to some convergence in their political points of views on how to deal with conflicts in the Middle East.

Regarding the Arabic newspapers, the unique words analysis showed that *Al-Khaleej* moved from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of uprisings. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, and highlighted the importance, consequences, and implications of the Arab uprisings not only in the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. In both newspapers, the toppled regimes were represented negatively, and described as "corrupt" looting the wealth of the country and people, in addition to committing massacres to serve their interests. In the same vein, the Arab people in general and the demonstrators in particular were portrayed in almost all cases as the victims of the cruelty of their regimes. They were also praised for their courage and bravery in facing the "dictators" who ruled the countries for decades. As in their English counterparts, the Arab newspapers condemned Qaddafi's forces and praised the rebel forces. Unlike period 1, there was a 90% similarity in the unique words in this period in the two Arabic newspapers. This shows that both Pan-Arab and national newspapers tend to have a similar focus at the time of conflicts especially when most of the Arab countries are affected. It also appears that both pan-Arab and national media have played a significant role in reaching out to the Arab public and

delivering the information to them, and this is what some other studies showed (see Aday et al., 2012; Lynch, 2013, 2015).

The keyword analysis showed the *NYT*'s interests in oil in general and the Middle East and North Africa's oil in particular, in addition to its heavy coverage to news related to terrorism in general and al-Qaida in particular. Kitchen (2012) highlighted that the US strategic involvement in the Middle East is rooted mainly from the country's hegemonic interest in secure and stable oil markets. The *NYT*'s dense coverage of oil related issue stems from the prediction that the Arab uprisings mainly happening in different parts of the Middle East and North Africa might affect the oil market. The *NYT* also reflected the American foreign policy against terrorism pointing out that after the outbreak of the Arab Spring, there were some concerns about the growth of terrorism in the region due to the state of chaos that has spread in different Arab countries. The *Guardian* covered more news about the Arab regimes and their relations with some British institutions, and the connection between Saif-Islam and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) was criticized. In the *Guardian*, Qaddafi's regime moved from being an in-group member with Britain in the pre-uprisings period fighting together in the 'War on Terrorism' and helping Libya in its way to international rehabilitation, to be not only part of the out-group during the uprisings but also criticizing the regime's links with some British officials and institutions in the last two decades.

The keywords of the Arabic newspapers showed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* gave more focus to the Syrian case than *Al-Khaleej*. The keyword analysis contributed to understanding some of the differences between national and pan-Arab newspapers' coverage of some events and their representation of some countries and their people. For example, regarding Iran, *Asharq Al-Awsat* highlighted the strategic alliance between some Arab capitals and Iran. It further discussed Iran's interference in some protest movements in Yemen and Bahrain and its support to the bloody regime of Assad in Syria. *Al-Khaleej*, despite sometimes referred to these aspects, gave more space to the dispute between the UAE and Iran over the three islands, and its membership in OPEC and effect on oil's price. Accordingly, the representation of Iran was similar to the one in period 1 with some focus, in this period, on how the Arab Spring will affect Tehran's new role in the regional politics. Regarding the Syrian uprising, both newspapers described the situation in Syria as a "crisis" and called the

entire world to sympathize with the Syrian people as they are slaughtered every day, and its youth are tortured to death in the prisons of the “cruel” regime of Assad. This coverage of the events in Syria was also in harmony with the stance of most Arab countries towards the Syrian uprisings, and the attitudes of Saudi Arabia and the UAE, where the two newspapers are mainly published, towards the regimes of Assad.

The analysis of the POS collocates of *Qaddafi* showed the ideological dependence of the newspapers, following the changing politics. Castro (2011) argues that some European countries notably France, Italy, and Britain contributed to making Qaddafi an accepted member of the international community since 2004. In the process, Qaddafi became a major investor in Europe, and an ally in the war against terrorism. In the Arabic corpus, *Al-Khaleej* appears to be conservative in showing the negativity of *Qaddafi*, while *Asharq Al-Awsat* was more open and described Qaddafi for several times as the Libyan dictator and tyrant. The four newspapers had different techniques to portray how Qaddafi misused his power. For example, the *NYT* described his rule as “erratic” and “authoritarian”, the *Guardian* described him as a “dictator”, *Asharq Al-Awsat* described his regime as “corrupt”, “lying”, “dictatorial”, “repressive”, and “illegitimate”, and *Al-Khaleej* highlighted that Qaddafi’s era was full of “corruption” especially in oil trade, and described it as “the era of terror”.

Accordingly, and based on the different corpus linguistic quantitative techniques, namely frequency, keywords, collocation and concordance, it seems that 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began and ended, represented the beginning of change not only of how some regimes are represented, but also of the general style and language of the four investigated newspapers. However, I cannot say that things have been fully changed until I examine the next period to check whether such changes continued or not.

The next chapter examines whether the focus of the four investigated newspapers in the post-uprisings era will be similar/different when compared to the during-uprisings period. It also investigates whether the negative representation of some regimes, especially the overthrown ones, will continue in 2012/2013 due to the case of stability that has spread the Arab Spring countries.

## 7. CHAPTER Seven

### Period 3 (2012/2013)

I now turn to investigate how the post-uprisings period (2012/2013) is represented in the four investigated newspapers. Period 3 covers the aftermath of the Arab Spring not only in the main countries that were involved in the event in general, and *Libya* and *Syria* in particular, but also the whole world.

#### 7.1 Unique Words

In order to uncover the different news foci on *Qaddafi* and *Libya* in the four English and Arabic newspapers in this period (2012/2013), I examined the most frequent unique words as shown in table 7.1. This will contribute to uncovering discourses about the representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the post-uprisings era, and answering the following research question:

**2/C:** What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

Table 7.1: Unique words in the English and Arabic newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013)

Newspaper	Unique words in period 3 (2012/2013)
<b>The Guardian</b>	Syria, military, security, Syrian, regime, year, international, Obama, president, Arab, Assad
<b>The NYT</b>	Obama, Syria, security, military, American, like, state, world, war, political, Syrian, attack, time, foreign
<b>Al-Khaleej</b>	الدولة، دولة، سوريا، الوطني، دبي، الحكومة، العالم، الماضي، المجلس، المنطقة، الشيخ، الامن، الامريكية (The) country, Syria, national, Dubai, government, the world, last, council, region, Sheikh, security, American
<b>Asharq Al-Awsat</b>	سوريا، النظام، نظام، السوري، السورية، الاسد، الوطني، الامريكية، المؤتمر، الجيش، الثورة، الدولة، طرابلس، السابق Syria, (the) regime, Syrian (masculine/ feminine), Assad, national, American, conference, army, revolution, the country, Tripoli, former

Table 7.1 shows that there is a shift from the Libyan uprisings towards the Syrian case as some words such as *Syria*, *Syrian*, and *Assad* show. This is due to the civil war that erupted

there after the president Assad of Syria rejected to step down and his governmental forces committed “cruel” deeds against the Syrian people.

### 7.1.1 English Newspapers

In this section, the unique words *regime* in the *Guardian*, and *attack* in the *NYT* will be investigated because I found them the most relevant to the Libyan case and the study’s overall objectives. I carried out a cluster analysis to examine how the unique word *regime* was used in the *Guardian* (table 7.2).

Table 7.2: The most frequent clusters with *regime* in the *Guardian*

The Guardian	
The most frequent clusters with <i>regime</i>	Freq.
Assad regime	104
's regime	72
Syrian regime	71
Qaddafi regime	60
regime change	54
old regime	27
former regime	26
Qaddafi's regime	26
regime forces	25
Al-Assad's regime	16

The cluster *regime change* was used about 85 percent of the time with the Syrian regime to highlight the demands of the international community for Assad’s immediate departure. Investigating how *Assad* was referred to in the co-text of *regime*, I found that he was mentioned in a variety of contexts. These include: the Russian support for him, his regime’s chemical power and its effect on the region, the sectarian division in Syria, and finally the cruelty and violence of his regime against the Syrian people. The representation of the *Assad's regime* varied but negativity was dominant in the *Guardian*, followed by neutrality, with few or no positive descriptions. His regime is described as *dictatorial*, *criminal*, *brutal*, *pernicious*, and *cancerous*. Some clusters in table 7.2 such as *regime change*, *old regime*, and *former regime* were mainly used to question whether the loyal people for the old and former regimes will play any roles in the post-revolution period or not. That was also to highlight the risk of overthrowing the heads of the regimes and keeping their residues in

critical positions, so some phrases such as former regime's *security apparatus*, *loyalists*, *elements*, and *officials* were frequent. It appears that the *Guardian*, by referring to such issues in the post-uprisings era, wants to highlight that the role of the international community that helped in the toppling of some long-standing regimes is almost done, and it is now the role of the new authorities to restore stability. Also, negatively representing the regime of Qaddafi, and highlighting the atrocities it committed throughout the past 42 years imply that the intervention in Libya that was led by Britain and overthrew Qaddafi was the right decision to be taken to save the innocent Libyan civilians. Accordingly, the focus was not only on the conflict arena at the time of the crisis, but also on the causes of how the conflict arose in the first place (oppression, suppression, and lacks of human rights). Hällgren (2012) argues that if news reporting dedicated some room for understanding the cultural context of the place where the conflict happens, some acts of the parties taking part in the war may become more understandable.

In the *NYT*, to investigate how the unique word *attack* was used, I carried out a collocational analysis, and examined the statistically strongest collocates (table 7.3).

Table 7.3: Top collocates with the word *attack* in the NYT

Collocates of “attack” in the NYT			
Collocate	With	Relation	Total
deadly	attack	0.012	54
terrorist	attack	0.011	105
killed	attack	0.011	114
Sept	attack	0.011	65
carried	attack	0.01	36
September	attack	0.01	41
diplomatic	attack	0.01	100
mission	attack	0.009	115
responsibility	attack	0.009	21
compound	attack	0.009	44
initial	attack	0.008	23
consulate	attack	0.008	45
response	attack	0.008	31
led	attack	0.008	20
investigation	attack	0.008	17
Benghazi	attack	0.008	235

Carrying out a concordance analysis for these collocates, I found that most of them are related to the Benghazi attack that took place on the evening of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2012, and targeted the American diplomatic compound. The attack resulted in killing the US ambassador and three other officials. Although there were different bombings and crimes in the post-Qaddafi era, this particular event was privileged in the *NYT* and a detailed and long coverage was dedicated to it, probably because it is salient to the newspaper's main targeted audience (US People). Moreover, the power of the United States and its symbolic role in the region played an important role in giving the attack such particular resonance, and so much coverage was dedicated to this story not because of its relevance to the security situation in Libya but perhaps because of its reflections and consequences on the other "Western" countries that have embassies in the Arab region in general and the Arab Spring countries in particular. The collocates *Benghazi* and *consulate* refer to the place and the targeted institution of that attack. To see how the event was described, I first examined how the verb *carried* was used, and found that there was no clear reference to the person/group that carried out the attack. However, some different opinions regarding the doers and their relationship to al-Qaida were covered. The collocate *terrorist* was used 105 times to describe not only the 2012 Benghazi attack, but also different events or attacks (lines 2, 5, 28, 34 in concordance 7.1); however the majority of the cases referred to the "brutal" (line 32), "deliberate" (line 10), "organized" (line 8), "lethal" (lines 3 and 27), and "horrible" (line 12) *terrorist* attack on the US consulate in Benghazi. The attack was also used by the Republicans in the US presidential election to accuse Obama's administration of playing down a terrorist link to the attack to save Obama's re-election chances (lines 23 and 24). The newspaper sometimes concentrated on the time of the attack because it happened at the same time of the New York attack on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Therefore, some expressions such as "September attack", and "the Sept. 11 attack" were frequent (lines 19, 26, and 33). Other times, the concentration was on the place and the targeted institution as in the clusters: "the Benghazi attack", "embassy attack", and "consulate attack" (lines 7, 11, 15, 18, 24, and 25).

1	hijacked by extremists, not a premeditated <b>terrorist</b> attack. Within days, Republicans in Congress were
2	South Korea attributed to a North Korean <b>terrorist</b> attack. All 115 people on board were killed. Eighty
3	prospect for president in 2016. A lethal <b>terrorist</b> attack on Americans overseas -- and the accusation
4	been a spontaneous protest rather than a <b>terrorist</b> attack. Mr. Kerry, who is the chairman of the
5	of state for African affairs in a 1998 <b>terrorist</b> attack on American embassies in Kenya and
6	, "Yes, they were killed in the course of a <b>terrorist</b> attack on our embassy." The next day, asked about
7	a hawkish stand on Syria while ignoring the <b>terrorist</b> attack on the U.S. Mission in Benghazi, Libya. "Mr.
8	that it was a deliberate and organized <b>terrorist</b> attack carried out by extremists." That statement,
9	. "Four Americans lost their lives in this <b>terrorist</b> attack," Mr. Boehner said, "and Congress is going to
10	that it was a deliberate and organized <b>terrorist</b> attack carried out by extremists." By the end of
11	ground in Benghazi, Libya, during last year's <b>terrorist</b> attack on the United States diplomatic mission that
12	agencies stressing "that this horrible <b>terrorist</b> attack came with the framework of the unfair
13	and having left the nation exposed to a <b>terrorist</b> attack in Libya. In a speech on Monday at the
14	U.S. diplomatic facility in Benghazi, Libya, a <b>terrorist</b> attack. "It is self-evident that what happened in
15	that what happened in Benghazi was a <b>terrorist</b> attack," the White House press secretary, Jay
16	making sure that where we can prevent a <b>terrorist</b> attack, where we can get information ahead of time,
17	. Officials eventually termed the assault a <b>terrorist</b> attack tied to Qaeda sympathizers and played down
18	had confirmed: that Benghazi was a <b>terrorist</b> attack involving Al Qaeda affiliates. When Rice asked
19	proved to be wrong, of the September <b>terrorist</b> attack on the diplomatic outpost in Benghazi, Libya.
20	Eight months after four Americans died in a <b>terrorist</b> attack on the American diplomatic compound in
21	that it was a deliberate and organized <b>terrorist</b> attack carried out by extremists." The unusual
22	to suggest that she dissembled on the <b>terrorist</b> attack last year against a U.S. mission in Benghazi,
23	administration cover-up of the <b>terrorist</b> nature of the attack and links to Al Qaeda. The criticism has
24	administration on issues like the Benghazi <b>terrorist</b> attack and the misuse of funds by government
25	American consulate in Benghazi, Libya, a <b>terrorist</b> attack, and Ms. Crowley backed Mr. Obama's version
26	." The spectacle in Washington over the <b>terrorist</b> attack last Sept. 11 in Benghazi, Libya, is focusing
27	minute-by-minute account of the lethal <b>terrorist</b> attack in Benghazi, Libya, last September and
28	for information. He's worried about another <b>terrorist</b> attack in the United States, which would be the
29	characterized the Benghazi incident as a <b>terrorist</b> attack — inappropriately because the president's
30	. knew quickly that the Benghazi raid was a <b>terrorist</b> attack. "It was such a no-brainer," one intelligence
31	American diplomatic mission in Libya was a <b>terrorist</b> attack, but that the administration refrained from
32	and security earlier this year. But the brutal <b>terrorist</b> attack on an upscale mall in Kenya last month has
33	and about its actions in the Sept. 11 <b>terrorist</b> attack in Benghazi, Libya, that killed the American
34	sources in news accounts considered it a <b>terrorist</b> attack days before Rice went on the shows. (The

Concordance 7.1: The word *terrorist* in the co-text of *attack* in the NYT

The high frequency of the word *attack* and some other words in the *NYT* suggests that the newspaper gives more focus mainly to covering news stories that are related to the US relations with some Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa rather than focusing on how new civilized societies may be established. To read this from a different angle, the focus on *Benghazi* is also very significant in terms of the US domestic politics. For example, some US domestic words such as *administration*, *officials*, *Republican\**, and *department* were collocates with *Benghazi* and the attack that happened there, and this would suggest how much this was domestic not international news for the *NYT*. In addition to the saliency



and relevance of this event to the American audience, the attack was also densely covered in the *NYT* when compared to its English counterpart perhaps because the newspaper wanted to highlight that the “US citizens are major victims of international terrorism” (Neumayer & Plümper, 2011, p. 3) not only in their own country as happened on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, but also abroad. This attack happened at a time of chaos and regime change. Kydd and Walter (2006) note that terror groups seek to gain power and political influence in the countries where they are based and abroad. Moreover, the groups responsible for terror attacks usually aim to gain some support from the population (Enders & Sandler, 2006). In the same vein, it is argued that “terrorism serves as an instrument used by radical political groups which aim at gaining influence on important policies and political control in their home country (or wider region)” (Neumayer & Plümper, 2011, p. 5). This interpretation might fit the situation in post-Qaddafi Libya as there was a power vacuum that led at the end to violence in almost everywhere in the country. Moreover, Green (2011) argues that the era of the Arab uprisings is seen by terrorist groups as an anti-Western phenomenon. This might explain why some ‘terrorist’ acts against the diplomats and embassies of some Western countries occurred in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

The unique word ***Arab*** appeared only in the *Guardian*’s list; however I created a cluster analysis for it in both newspapers to see if the era of the Arab Spring was represented differently/similarly to period 2 (table 7.4).

Table 7.4: The most frequent clusters with *Arab* in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*

Cluster analysis for <i>Arab</i> in the English corpus			
The Guardian	Freq.	The NYT	Freq.
Arab spring	244	Arab spring	363
Arab league	126	Arab world	271
Arab world	111	Arab league	219
Arab countries	31	United Arab Emirates	65
United Arab Emirates	17	Arab awakening	38
Arab uprisings	17	Arab states	36
Saudi Arabia	10	Arab uprisings	26
Arab idol	9	Arab nations	23
Arab revolutions	8	Arab leaders	18
		Arab revolutions	17

As shown in table 7.4, different clusters are used to refer to the era of the Arab uprisings, such as the *Arab spring*, the *Arab uprisings*, the *Arab revolutions*, and the *Arab Awakening*.

In order to examine how the era of the Arab Spring was referred to in the English corpus, I carried out a concordance analysis for the words *spring*, *uprisings*, and *revolutions* in the co-text of *Arab*. In the *Guardian*, I could find 289 incidents. Adding the word *awakening* in the *NYT* produced 496 incidents. This was followed by creating patterns analysis to see the most frequent collocates with them as shown in tables 7.5 and 7.6.

Table 7.5: Patterns analysis for the clusters *Arab (spring, uprisings, and revolutions)* in the *Guardian*

Patterns analysis for <i>Arab (spring, uprisings, and revolutions)</i> in the <i>Guardian</i>								
L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
world	that	Arab	Arab	<b>Spring Uprisings Revolutions</b>	began	Tunisia	Arab	spring
start	during	2011	spring		revolution	years	Egypt	Syria
year	after	bloodiest			that	shown	winter	Tunisia
wake	since				when	political	part	2011
hopes	Arab				spread		2011	Arab
approach	before				erupted			
affected	where				Tunisia			
crisis								

Table 7.6: Patterns analysis for *Arab (spring, awakening, uprisings, and revolutions)* in the *NYT*

Pattern analysis for the <i>Arab (spring, awakening, uprisings, and revolutions)</i> in the <i>NYT</i>								
L4	L3	L2	L1	Centre	R1	R2	R3	R4
turmoil	after	Arab	Arab	<b>Spring Uprisings Awakening Revolutions</b>	uprisings	have	Arab	have
aftermath	from	other	spring		that	began	Tunisia	Tunisia
start	during	this	popular		began	Egypt	regional	Libya
result	before	so-called			revolts	that	Egypt	spring
Tunisia	when				countries	Syria	Syria	world
inspired	where				revolutions	three	years	Egypt
revolts	began				were	they	worryingly	2011
coverage	said				protests	their	protests	region
wake					will	general	middle	Syria
beginning					which		Libya	east
consequence					would		power	dictators
uprisings					erupted		popular	said
spirit					though		political	revolution
instability					brought			
known					Islamists			
fallout					president			
power					gave			
promise					swept			
parallel					revolutionary			

The countries that were mainly involved in the uprisings were frequent in both newspapers. These include: *Tunisia*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Libya*. In the majority of cases, *Tunisia* was used to represent the bright face of the Arab uprisings because it kick-started the Arab uprisings of 2011 and did not witness much violence when compared with other countries. *Tunisia*

and *Egypt* were usually put together in one group as they have some similarities. For example, the uprisings in both countries did not take long time to topple their long-standing regimes, and the Islamic movements in both countries controlled the parliamentary and presidential elections in the post-uprisings era. *Syria* and *Libya* were frequently grouped together as they witnessed the bloodiest events in the Arab uprisings and their governmental forces responded to the protests violently.

Some collocates in the *Guardian* have negative connotations such as *bloodiest*, *affected*, and *crisis* (table 7.5). The majority of the incidents of the collocate *bloodiest* were used in the Syrian revolution context as there were many civilian deaths since the uprisings erupted in March 2011. Even the collocate *hope* which is supposed to have a positive connotation was used in neutral and negative ways as in the sentences: “Western leaders had absurd hopes for the Arab Spring”, and “Libya was always unpromising soil for the great hopes of the Arab Spring”. I also examined the concordance lines one by one in the *Guardian* and found some other aspects that are related to the consequences of the Arab Spring that might deserve mentioning although they were not frequent. These aspects were mainly related to the success of the Islamist parties, especially in Egypt and Tunisia, in the post-uprisings elections, and their crucial role in what happened in *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Yemen* (concordance 7.2). The whole era is referred to as “Islamist winter” (lines 1 and 2) because Islamists emerged as leaders in the political scene during and immediately after the uprisings, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, a movement that is said to “shift from semi-clandestine opponent to legitimate political power almost overnight”. Different opinions about the Arab Spring were mentioned in the *Guardian*. For example, some are still optimistic and claim that this era is still part of the solution rather than a problem and it represents a triumph for democracy not Islamism, although the pace of change is grindingly slow (line 4). However, the majority of opinions expressed concerns over what happened in most of the Arab countries that were involved in the events claiming that the Arab ‘spring’ became an Arab ‘winter’ (lines 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11).

- 1 Captions: **Arab spring** . . . or **Islamist** winter?
- 2 The fledging **Islamist** rulers of the **Arab spring**
- 3 The world after the **Arab Spring** is **more complicated** than it was.
- 4 We **secularists** did **not** become **Islamists**, the **Islamists** became democrats, and this is why I think the **Arab spring** is the triumph of democracy and **not** Islamism.
- 5 The narrative of the **Arab spring** **threatened** to take a **U-turn**.
- 6 The future course of the **Arab spring** is by **no means predestined** and there are degrees of autocracy and state violence.
- 7 It's hardly surprising that the uprisings hailed as the **Arab spring** have long since been seen as having turned to Arab winter.
- 8 Those who look at Syria today and **blame** the **Arab spring** have got it the wrong way round. You cannot **blame** the people for the behaviour of a brutal dictator.
- 9 The aftermath of the **Arab spring** has **not** just opened up **new terrain** but also **exacerbated existing problems of lawlessness and criminality**.
- 10 For many the "**Arab spring**" has long since turned into an Arab winter, as **savage repression and counter-revolution crushed**, hijacked or diverted popular pressure for democratic rights
- 11 Optimism about the Arab uprisings had reached a **low ebb**.

Concordance 7.2: *The Arab Spring* in the Guardian

In the *NYT*, some collocates can be grouped in one thematic category entitled “the consequences of the Arab Spring”. These collocates include *turmoil*, *aftermath*, *consequences*, *instability*, *fallout*, *Islamists*, *worryingly*, and *dictators*. Most of the words in this category have negative connotations, and different calamitous events were said to happen as “a result of the turmoil of the Arab awakening”. To defend the United States reactions to some events in the Middle East, some voices in the *NYT* highlighted the limits of the American power to deal with the array of the new security threats unleashed by the turmoil of the Arab Spring. The words *democracy* and *democratic* were used in period 2 (2011) to praise and describe the protest movement in the Arab world. However, their use was different in the majority of cases in this period (2012/2013) emphasizing that it would not be easy to maintain the democratization process in the region, especially after the attack on the US consulate in Benghazi. The different views of the international community on what is happening in the Arab region were also covered. Some were still optimistic about the uprisings and claimed that it is not easy to draw broad conclusions about the Arab uprisings which are still young. However, the Arab Spring was sometimes seen as an Arab winter that scrambled power dynamics and shattered security forces across the region. Therefore, it is suggested that the terms which are used to refer to the events “should be” changed.

## Summary

The unique words analysis in the *NYT* and the *Guardian* showed that both newspapers gave much space to the Syrian case, on the one hand, and the consequences of the Arab revolutions on the other one. The two newspapers referred to the case of chaos that spread across not only the main Arab spring countries, but also the region in the post-uprisings era. Sometimes, such consequences are said to be inevitable linking the Arab Spring with other revolutions throughout history. For example, in Libya and although the country has been suffering from different problems since the 2011 overthrow of the Qaddafi regime, the *Guardian* focused on the democratic aspect that the uprisings provided people with; holding the first election in the country since about four decades. This might be to legitimise the international coalition in which the UK took the leading position. Similarly, on some occasions, the *Guardian* referred to the absence of a functioning state in the post-Qaddafi era and how the state needs to be built from scratch, not because the international coalition destructed the infra-structure, but because of the fragility of the Libyan state at the time of Qaddafi that left no institutional infrastructure behind. In the *NYT*, the focus in the post-Qaddafi Libya was on the security situation and how Libya became a safe haven for al-Qaida-linked groups. This is likely because the American institutions in Libya were targets for ‘terrorist’ attacks; an example of this is the Benghazi attack on the American consulate that led to the killing of the US ambassador, and was described in the *NYT* as “brutal”, “deliberate”, “organized”, “lethal” and “horrible”. Therefore, and unlike the *Guardian*, the theme of terrorism continued to be covered heavily in the *NYT* highlighting how it is a vital matter in the American foreign policy especially in the Middle East.

The next section examines the unique words in the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

### 7.1.2 Arabic newspapers

In this period, it appears that *Al-Khaleej*, to some extent, returned to its style in period 1, i.e. concentrating more on national issues rather than pan-Arab or international ones although there was a relatively good space for that as well. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its concentration on pan-Arab issues, mainly the uprisings that spread all over the Arab world in 2011 and their consequences. Examining the most frequent unique words in period 3 in

the Arabic corpus, I found that the words *الأمريكية* American, *سوريا* Syria, *الدولة* the country, and *الوطني* national were mentioned in both newspapers. The unique word *الوطني* national was mainly used as a part of the clusters *المجلس الوطني السوري* “The National Syrian Council” and *المجلس الوطني الانتقالي الليبي* “The National Transitional Council of Libya”.

The frequent word *سوريا* Syria was the only mentioned country in the unique word list in *Al-Khaleej*, and *سوريا* Syria, *السورية/السوري* Syrian (feminine/masculine adjective), and *الاسد* Assad were among the unique words in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. It appears that the civil war in Syria, the cruelty of the regime there, the dispute of the opposition forces, and the calls for an international military intervention contributed to giving more coverage and focus to the Syrian case. Examining how the Syrian president *الاسد* Assad was represented in both newspapers, I found that the negativity around him continued in this period being described as a “miserable tyrant”. That was not mainly because of his “cruelty” and “violence” against his people, but because of his “striving” and “insistence” to stay in power in spite of the demands of his own people and the international community for his departure. Although some words such as *نظام* “regime”, *قوات* “troops”, *اسقاط* “toppling”, *جرائم* “crimes”, *ارتكب* “committed”, and *اطاح* “throw down” were present in period 2 (2011), some other words such as *مستقبل* “future”, *مصير* “fate”, *يعطي* “give”, *الاسلحة الكيميائية* “chemical weapons”, and most importantly *تحي* “**step down**” began to appear in this period. When consulting the Arabic/Arabic dictionary *Al-Mo'gam Al-Waseet*, and arTenTen, a web-crawled corpus of Arabic to compare the meanings of *تحي* “step down”, *اسقاط* “fall”, and *اطاحة* “overthrow”, I found that *تحي* “step down” means to withdraw or resign from an important position or office, *اسقاط* “fall” indicates moving from a higher to a lower level, typically rapidly and without control, while *اطاحة* “overthrow” means a forcible removal from power. I created a collocational analysis for Assad in *Al-Khaleej* in this period and found that *استقال* “resign” was used 2 times, *اطاحة* “overthrow” 8 times, *اسقاط* “fall” 15 times, and *تحي* “step down” 39 times. This implies that it is no more the rebels who are responsible for overthrowing Assad’s regimes, but the calls of the international community for him to resign or step down voluntarily.

In order to uncover how the unique word *الأمريكية* American was used in both newspapers, I examined the most salient 20 collocates with it (table 7.7). It is worth mentioning here that

the unique word *الأميركية* (*American*) is the feminine adjective for the word *أمريكا* *America* in Arabic, and this is why male characters and masculine nouns are absent from the list.

Table 7.7: The strongest 20 collocates with *الأميركية* *American* in Al-Khaleej and Asharq Al-Awsat

The strongest 20 collocates with <i>American</i> in the two Arabic newspapers							
Al-Khaleej				Asharq Al-Awsat			
Word	Translation	Relation	Total	Word	Translation	Relation	Total
الإدارة	administration	0.016	103	الإدارة	Administration	0.011	269
المركزية	Central	0.015	51	المركزية	Central	0.010	96
وزير	Minister	0.015	68	الاستخبارات	Intelligence	0.010	173
السياسة	Politics	0.014	48	السفارة	Embassy	0.010	205
القنصلية	Consulate	0.014	164	القوات	Forces	0.010	179
وزارة	Ministry	0.014	105	وكالة	Agency	0.010	87
الاستخبارات	Intelligence	0.013	52	السياسة	Politics	0.009	99
هيلاري	Hillary	0.013	50	وزارة	Ministry	0.009	147
السفارة	Embassy	0.013	131	السفيرة	Ambassador	0.009	42
كلينتون	Clinton	0.013	56	الدبلوماسية	Diplomacy	0.009	79
الولايات	States	0.013	152	وزير	Minister	0.009	159
السفيرة	Ambassador	0.013	20	والولايات	States	0.009	19
القوات	Forces	0.012	73	هيلاري	Hillary	0.009	121
تقرير	Report	0.012	26	المتحدثة	Spokeswoman	0.009	32
مخزونات	Supplies	0.012	48	القنصلية	Consulate	0.008	332
الدفاع	Defence	0.012	40	العلاقات	Relations	0.008	48
معلومات	Information	0.011	33	البحرية	Navy	0.008	35
صحيفة	newspaper	0.011	23	واشنطن	Washington	0.008	36
العسكرية	Military	0.011	54	كلينتون	Clinton	0.008	139
وكالة	Agency	0.011	35	المخابرات	Intelligence	0.008	44

I examined the most frequent collocates in table 7.7, namely, *القنصلية* *consulate* (164), *الولايات* *States* (152), and *السفارة* *embassy* (131) in Al-Khaleej, and *القنصلية* *consulate* (332), *الولايات* *States* (152), and *السفارة* *embassy* (205) in Asharq Al-Awsat. *الولايات* *States* collocated with *الأميركية* *American* as they refer to the name of the country *الولايات المتحدة* "United States of America", and *الإدارة* *administration* to show how the American officials, being prominent and ideal sources of news, respond to different national and international events. To check whether the other two most frequent collocates were used similarly or not, I carried out a concordance analysis, and found that the word *القنصلية* *consulate* was used only in the co-text of the 2012 attack on the US diplomatic compound in Benghazi. The collocate *السفارة* *embassy* in most cases referred to the embassies of the U.S. around the word, especially in the Arab countries, and the focus was mainly on two aspects. First, protesters from around the Arab world attacking the American embassies or protesting

in front of them in the post-uprisings period because of a film attacking and offending the Islam's prophet calling for expelling the ambassadors and closing the embassies. Second, the US demands to the Arab government to increase security measures around its embassies, especially after the case of chaos and turmoil that spread the region since the fall of some long-standing regimes.

Examining how the collocate *القنصلية consulate* was used in *Al-Khaleej*, and how the attack on the US ambassador in Benghazi was covered, I found that *الهجوم/الاعتداء the attack/assault* was described as *ارهابي* “terrorist”, *دموي* “bloody”, *وحشي* “brutal”, and *جبان* “cowardly”. The people or groups responsible for the attack were unknown although they are sometimes linked with *متشددون اسلاميون* “Islamist militants” and *تنظيم القاعدة في بلاد المغرب الإسلامي* “al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb”. The event was also linked to the increased influence of extremists in Libya after the toppling of the Qaddafi’s regime. Unlike the *NYT*’s coverage to the event, what was frequent in *Al-Khaleej*’s coverage is linking the attack with the film that offended the prophet of Islam. *Al-Khaleej* in its coverage of the event tended to quote others, especially the US officials, some Libyan officials, and some Arab and international officials who described the event as *هجوم دموي جبان* “cowardly and bloody attack”.

Investigating how the event was represented in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, I found that the place where the event happened was focused on, and so the Libyan city of Benghazi was mentioned in almost all the cases. The main event was referred to as *هجوم* “attack” (226 times), *اعتداء* “assault” (8 times), *تفجير* “bombing” (11 times), and *حادثة* accident (10 times). The word *السفير ambassador* was mentioned for relatively few times with no reference to who killed him although the agent is sometime described as extremist groups (concordance 7.3).

1	بعد الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي الذي قتل السفير الأمريكي في ليبيا وثلاثة من مرافقيه After the <b>attack</b> on the US consulate in Benghazi which <b>caused the murder of the US ambassador</b> to Libya three of his companions
2	الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي واعتقال السفير الأمريكي لدى ليبيا The <b>attack</b> on the US consulate in Benghazi and the assassination of the US ambassador to Libya
3	اقتحام متشددين إسلاميين القنصلية الأميركية في المدينة وقتل السفير وثلاثة أميركيين آخرين <b>Islamist militants</b> storm the US consulate in the city, and the <b>murder of the ambassador</b> and three other Americans.
4	حادث الهجوم على القنصلية الأميركية ومقتل السفير الأمريكي The <b>attack</b> on the US consulate and the <b>killing of the US ambassador</b> accident
5	تحرق مجموعة منطرفة القنصلية الأميركية في بنغازي، وتقتل السفير وبعض الموظفين <b>Extremist group</b> burn the American consulate in Benghazi, and <b>kill the ambassador</b> and some staff

Concordance 7.3: The word *السفير Ambassador* as a collocate of *الأميركية American* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*



The use of the word *ارهابي* “terrorist” to describe the event or *ارهابيين* “terrorists” to describe the agent was rare being mentioned 13 times. Both words were used in most cases in the context of the American reaction to the event, i.e. by American officials rather than the newspaper itself. The reason that motivated the attacker to commit the bombing was uniquely referred to although it is mentioned sometimes in the co-text of the protests against the offending US film to the prophet of Islam.

## Summary

The unique words analysis in the Arabic corpus showed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, mainly the consequences of the uprisings, and the influence of Iran in the region, while *Al-Khaleej*, to a great extent, returned to its style in period 1, and concentrated more on national issues rather than pan-Arab or international ones. Both newspapers gave much space to the Syrian case, in addition to referring to the fate of the former regimes’ residues. The two newspapers also discussed the post-uprisings era in the main Arab Spring countries highlighting two main themes, namely the fate of the residues of the former regimes, and instability and growth of terrorism. The attack on the US ambassador in Benghazi was densely covered in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*. In common with the *NYT*, the event was described as terrorist, bloody, brutal, and cowardly showing similar attitudes towards terrorism in the investigated newspapers. Gerhards and Schäfer (2013) reached a similar finding regarding the coverage of terrorism in different media outlets in different countries. They examined the coverage of CNN, Al Jazeera, the BBC, and ARD of terrorism, and found that in the four channels, terrorist attacks are denounced and the victims are portrayed as innocent civilians that all should sympathize with. In my analysis of the attack on the American consulate and although the investigated newspapers underlined the illegitimacy of the terrorist attacks, I found some differences in their coverage; for example the *NYT* covered the news from a US national point of view and highlighted how the American people and institutions are targets for different ‘terrorist’ attacks, while the two Arabic newspapers, through implication and by referring to the offending US film to the prophet of Islam, portrayed the event as a reaction to an American offence to the Islamic and Arabic identity. This shows that the newspapers do not operate within a vacuum, and are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working.

The next section highlights some differences in the two investigated corpora.

## 7.2 Keyword Analysis

I carried out a keyword analysis for period 3 in both English and Arabic newspapers by comparing the *NYT* and the *Guardian* against each other (table 7.8), and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* against each other (table 7.9) in order to answer the following research question:

**3/C:** What does a keyword analysis reveal about the most salient themes in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* when compared against each other on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* when compared against each other on the other hand in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt* in the post-uprisings era (2012/2013)?

### 7.2.1 English Newspapers

As before, some keywords in table 7.8 below occurred only because they are related to the countries where they are located and mainly published (such as the *UK*, *pounds*, *British*, *Cameron*, *London*, *Britain*, and *Blair* in the *Guardian*, and *United*, *States*, *American*, and *Obama* in the *NYT*), and spelling differences between British and American English (such as *defence/defense*, *centre/center*, *programme/program*, and *organisation/organization*).

Table 7.8: Keyword analysis for the two English newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013)

Keyword Analysis (Period 3)			
The Guardian		The NYT	
Key word	Freq.	Key word	Freq.
UK	788	MR	14,272
UN	685	UNITED	4,039
YESTERDAY	659	STATES	3,335
POUNDS	616	MS	1,425
DEFENCE	535	AMERICAN	2,980
CAPTIONS	424	SAID	13,396
QAIDA	396	OBAMA	4,835
GUARDIAN	425	QAEDA	1,036

BRITISH	937	PRESIDENT	4,375
REGIME	1,019	ADMINISTRATION	1,770
EU	255	DEFENSE	803
CENTRE	238	PROGRAM	669
CAMERON	552	OFFICIALS	2,436
ICC	192	CENTER	556
CIA	184	NATIONS	1,333
PROGRAMME	173	COL	504
BT	165	SEPT	414
LONDON	535	DEPARTMENT	1,193
BRITAIN	756	SENATOR	641
SAYS	771	ORGANIZATION	381
LABOUR	194	REPUBLICANS	783
ORGANISATION	132	HOUSE	1,766
RENDITION	191	MRS	509
BLAIR	182	ROMNEY	1,528
MPS	125	REPUBLICAN	986
SAIF	145	SENATE	550
BBC	221	CONGRESS	804
TORY	101	LAWMAKERS	236
WAUGH	92	OIL	1,342
TORTURE	249	PROGRAMS	240

In table 7.8, some keywords in the *Guardian* such as *regime* and *rendition* suggest the newspaper's focus on the UK involvement in illegal renditions to Libya and its 'suspicious' links with the Qaddafi's regime. In the *NYT*, the focus was on oil (*oil*), the 2012 Benghazi attack (*Sept*), and the US presidential election (*Obama*, *Romeny*, *Senator*, and *Republican/s*).

In this section, I investigate how *al-Qaida* was represented in both English newspapers because the group has played a critical role in the post-uprisings period in almost all of the countries that were mainly involved in the era of the Arab Spring. I carried out a collocation analysis for *al-Qaida*, and found that the word *by*, which is used to identify the agent performing an action, was among the top grammatical collocates. Since the grammatical collocates are useful in uncovering discourses as some studies showed (see Duguid, 2008; McEnery, 2006), and to check what actions were associated with *al-Qaida*, I examined the grammatical word *by* in the co-text of *al-Qaida* in both newspapers (concordance 7.4).

The findings showed that the *NYT* focused on the attacks held by *al-Qaida* in general and the ones that targeted its citizens and institutions in particular. For example, in concordance 7.4, lines (1, 2, 4, 15, and 20) show that *al-Qaida* was accused of bombing two American embassies in West Africa, and killing the American ambassador in Benghazi, and Americans in general. Concordance lines (3, 11, and 16) show how people are irritated by the group's extremists who closed schools, banned music, and flogged citizens. The presence of *al-Qaida* in some Arab Spring countries was also covered. For example, there were some concerns that the Syrian opposition is dominated by *al-Qaida* (line 13), in addition to its presence in *Libya* (line 6), *Yemen* (line 11), and *some African countries* (lines 5, 12, and 17). The American role in fighting *al-Qaida* was heavily highlighted in the *NYT* (lines 10, 21, and 22). For example, *al-Qaida* is said to be decimated by the American strikes, and some *al-Qaida* operatives are said to be seized by the US commanders. The use of the phrases "terrorist act", "terrorist attacks", "stateless terrorism", "terrorist plot", "danger", and "extremist element", "Qaida extremists" were also frequent.

1	bombings of two American embassies in East Africa by Al Qaeda, the State Department began a
2	that Mr. Stevens died in a carefully planned assault by Al Qaeda to mark the anniversary of its strike
3	many Islamists have been alienated and attacked by Al Qaeda elements. Foreign fighters, though, can
4	well established that the Americans were attacked by Al Qaeda in a well-planned assault." But enough
5	troops are now battling fighters who are backed by Al Qaeda and control the northern part of Mali.
6	story lines suggests. Benghazi was not infiltrated by Al Qaeda, but nonetheless contained grave local
7	it as a terrorist act with possible involvement by Al Qaeda. The changing accounts prompted the
8	had allegedly been helping to finance operations by Al Qaeda. Mr. Khadr's younger brother was
9	11 terrorist attacks, which were, in fact, carried out by Al Qaeda. The Brotherhood has explicitly
10	our response to stateless terrorism as personified by Al Qaeda cost us dearly in lives lost and
11	7, 2012, that disclosed the foiling of a terrorist plot by Al Qaeda's branch in Yemen to bomb an airliner.
12	administration underestimated the dangers posed by Al Qaeda's franchise in northern Africa and other
13	say they also worry about an increased presence by Al Qaeda in Syria and the possibility that Syria's
14	. The opposition is increasingly being represented by Al Qaeda extremist elements, including
15	its image from that of a network used as a vehicle by Al Qaeda and hostile to the United States to
16	Islam. Al Qaeda extremists antagonized the public by closing schools, banning music, flogging citizens
17	launched their offensive into Mali to push back gains by Islamist militant fighters. Al Qaeda in the
18	that warned of the potential for terror attacks by operatives of Al Qaeda and affiliated groups
19	by Eric Schmitt. Thursday, August 8, 2013 ? Order by Qaeda For Attack Led To Terror Alert
20	did not say that the ambassador was assassinated by terrorists affiliated with Al Qaeda." Secretary of
21	have suggested that Al Qaeda has been decimated by the American strikes. Republicans have seized
22	man accused of being a Qaeda operative and seized by U.S. commandos in Libya over the weekend is

Concordance 7.4: *Qaida* with the grammatical word *by* in the *NYT*

As in the *NYT*, the *Guardian* used some words that have negative connotations with *al-Qaida* highlighting that it represents a threat and danger for the whole world. Examples of these words/phrases include: “grave danger posed by extremists or Qaida” (line 3), “Qaida terrorists” (line 4), “threatened national security” (line 8), “rising threat posed by Qaida” (line 10), “existential and generational threat posed by Qaida” (line 11), “enduring threat posed by Qaida” (line 12), and “savage threat posed by Qaida” (line 13) (concordance 7.5).

1	stories about the founder of al-Qaida, who was killed by US navy commandos in 2011 at his compound in
2	further than the foundation of the group al-Qaida by Saudi-born Osama bin Laden in 1988. There have
3	for interviews, emphasise the grave danger posed by Salafi extremists or al-Qaida - the same "foreign
4	which it should no longer pursue al-Qaida terrorists by military means, one of the Obama administration's
5	drawn deeper into the crisis in Mali when a group led by former al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)
6	Yemen and Somalia, and that al-Qaida was defeated by counter-terrorism, not counter-insurgency - then
7	security installations in December were carried out by an al-Qaida type group using military explosives
8	IRA terror, more systematic than anything spawned by al-Qaida, threatened national security - that is,
9	is named as the lead planner of a plot sanctioned by al-Qaida's core leadership in Pakistan to
10	have warned for some time of the rising threat posed by al-Qaida and its affiliates across the "ungoverned
11	talks of an existential and generational threat posed by al-Qaida and its offshoots in northern Africa, and
12	appeared to be linked to the enduring threats posed by al-Qaida affiliate groups in the region, possibly
13	mission to suppress the "savage threat" posed by al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb. Once Cameron
14	been hatched in the country: "Repeated attempts by al-Qaida in Yemen to mount attacks on aircraft,
15	over the past two decades. Almost every attempt by al-Qaida central to win genuine popular support
16	The region of newly proclaimed jihadi emirates is run by affiliates of al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula

Concordance 7.5: *Qaida* with the grammatical word *by* in the *Guardian*

## Summary

The keyword's analysis results of the two English newspapers (table 7.8) showed that the *NYT* covered more news about the US presidential election in 2012, the points of view of the US officials regarding different events across the world, and terrorism related issues. Conversely, the *Guardian* focused on the links of Qaddafi's regimes with Britain and their effect on different issues such as Megrahi's release, UK-Libyan rendition program, and the Libyan compensation for the British victims of the IRA attacks. The focus of the two newspapers shows that the *NYT* and the *Guardian* do not operate within a vacuum. There are some domestic factors that influence media reporting (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996a), and these include the historical and cultural characteristics of the country, religious differences,

the system of political elites, and attitudes. The *NYT* and the *Guardian* were influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working. Both newspapers covered more news of events that might draw the attention of the people of the countries where they are located and published. The *NYT*'s focus on terrorism and the *Guardian*'s on the British links with the Qaddafi regime shows that media coverage noticeably varies from one country to another, and indicates that the national contexts influence the type coverage (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2013). The US foreign policy of counter-terrorism were highlighted in the three periods in the *NYT*, perhaps to show the country's interest in saving the lives not only of its citizens but also worldwide, and to change or affect the readers' mental model of this issue by sharing fears, attitudes, and ideologies. After people's attitudes are influenced on terrorism, little or no efforts may be needed to make them act according to these attitudes (Van Dijk, 2006a), for instance to vote in favour of antiterrorism policies (Sidel, 2007). It also appears that giving such importance to anti-terrorist discourse in the *NYT* is a way to highlight the value of security, making it even more important than the values of civil rights and equality for example (Doherty & McClintock, 2002). The *Guardian*'s concentration on the UK historical engagement with the Libyan regime, and then its vital role in its toppling is perhaps a way to tell the readers that one of the features of the civilized societies are correcting their previous mistakes on the one hand, and to highlight that its cooperation with the Qaddafi regime was part of its good intention to rehabilitate Libya with the international community on the other hand. On some occasions, the focus was on the British victims of the IRA attacks, the murder of a British police officer outside the Libyan embassy in London, and Megrahi's release maybe to make the story relevant to a UK audience.

The next section highlights some differences between the two investigated Arabic newspapers.

## 7.2.2 Arabic Newspapers

Some Arabic keywords in table 7.9 occurred due to spelling differences (الاميركي/الاميركية / اميركي / اميركية American, اميركا America, الأفريقي / الأفريقية African, and أفريقيا Africa), while others appeared in the list because they relate to the names of the newspapers (الشرق Asharq and الأوسط Al-Awsat in Asharq Al-Awsat) or the countries where the newspapers are located and mainly published (الإمارات Emirates, الشارقة Sharjah, دبي Dubai, أبوظبي Abu Dhabi, درهم Dirham, زايد Zayed, نهيان Nahyan, and راشد Rashid in Al-khaleej).

Table 7.9: Keyword Analysis for the two Arabic newspapers in period 3 (2012/2013)

Keyword Analysis (Period 3)					
Asharq Al-Awsat			Al-Khaleej		
Freq.	Key	Trans.	Freq.	Key word	Trans.
3,437	الأميركية	US	4,756	العربية	Arab
2,232	الأميركي	American	4,074	الإمارات	Emirates
3,861	الأسد	Assad	2,683	دبي	Dubai
1,163	أفريقيا	Africa	2,178	الأمن	Security
981	أميركا	America	2,158	الأمريكية	American
6,539	سوريا	Syria	1,927	الأمريكي	American
4,828	النظام	the regime	1,563	البلاد	Country
4,283	السوري	Syrian	1,309	إفريقيا	Africa
3,782	الأوسط	Middle	1,257	زايد	Zayed
3,922	الشرق	East	1,119	الشارقة	Sharjah
2,183	القاعدة	Al-Qaeda	1,099	السورية	Syrian
5,007	القذافي	Qaddafi	1,645	آل	Al (family of)
605	الأميركيين	Americans	1,228	أبو ظبي	Abu Dhabi
1,467	بشار	Bashar	1,023	نهيان	Nahyan
3,134	السورية	Syrian	1,199	درهم	Dirham
521	أميركية	American	961	السمو	Highness
546	الأفريقية	African	912	عبدالله	Abdullah
2,881	نظام	regime	868	مشيراً	Pointing
3,688	عبد	Abdul	792	الطاقة	Energy
476	أنان	Annan	792	السلطة	Authority
424	الأفريقي	African	1,314	البطولة	Tournament
394	أميركي	US	2,198	الشيخ	Sheikh
2,339	إيران	Iran	3,121	دولار	Dollar
2,426	أوباما	Obama	891	وكالات	Agencies
4,899	الرئيس	President	838	نادي	Club
468	مضيفا	Adding	663	سمو	Highness
512	أقول	I Say	1,106	للبرميل	A barrel
1,937	الإخوان	Brotherhood	595	مؤكد	Stressing
414	رئيسا	President	561	مكتوم	Maktoum
351	سياسيا	Politically	825	راشد	Rashid

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the words الأسد *Assad*, السورية/السوري *Syrian*, سوريا *Syria*, بشار *Bashar*, and النظام *regime* are related to the Syrian case. The keyword الإخوان *Brotherhood* is related in one way or another to the consequences of the era of the Arab Spring. In *Al-Khaleej*, most of the keywords, if we exclude the ones related to spelling differences, are related to the UAE. These keywords include: العربية *Arab*, الإمارات *Emirates*, دبي *Dubai*, البلاد *country*, زايد *Zayed*, الشارقة *Sharjah*, أبو ظبي *Abu Dhabi*, نهيان *Nahyan*, درهم *Dirham*, سمو *Highness*, الطاقة *energy*, الشيخ *sheikh*, برميل *Barrel*, مكتوم *Maktoum*, and راشد *Rashid*.

In their coverage of the consequences of the Arab uprisings, *Asharq Al-Awsat* highlighted that the political Islam groups which came to power after the Arab revolutions through the ballot box confused authority and power dynamics, and ripped the security measures throughout the region. The main focus in *Al-Khaleej* was on the Egyptian revolution and how the Brotherhood came to power. The newspaper discussed how Islamist forces emerged from the womb of the Arab Spring carrying the swords of change, and seeking to form a new political reality in their countries.

In order to examine how the keyword *الايخوان Brotherhood* was represented in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, I looked at the statistically strongest 30 collocates, and categorized them into different thematic groups as table 7.10 shows:

Table 7.10: Thematic categories for the collocates of *الايخوان Brotherhood* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*

The collocates of <i>الايخوان Brotherhood</i> in the Arabic corpus		
Thematic Cat.	Asharq Al-Awsat	Al-Khaleej
<b>Name and description</b>	لجماعة، جماعة، المسلمين، المسلمون، السياسية، السياسي، سياسية، تنظيم، الزراع، الاسلام (for) the group, Muslim (accusative/ nominative), the Political (feminine/ masculine), political (indefinite, feminine), organisation, arm, Islam	لجماعة، وجماعة، جماعة، بجماعة، الجماعة، المسلمون، المسلمين، السياسي، السياسية، الاسلامي، الزراع، موقف (for/and/with) the group, Muslim (nominative/ accusative), the political (masculine/ feminine), Islamic, arm, position
<b>Status after 2011 uprisings</b>	السلطة، وصول، حكم authority, arrivals, rule	حكم rule
<b>Characters</b>	العام، قيادات، المرشد، مرسي، ينتمي general, leaders, the guide, Morsi, belongs	القيادي، مرسي، بشير، الكبتي، المراقب، المرشد، قيادات leader, Morsi, Bashir, Al-Kabti, the observer, guide, leaders
<b>Parties and movements</b>	والبناء، العدالة، حركة، السلفيين، الحرية، والعدالة، جماعات، تحالف، وحزب and construction, justice, movement, Salafis, freedom, and justice, groups, alliance, and party	والبناء، حزب، والعدالة، السلفيين، التنظيم، الحرية، العدالة and construction, party, and justice, Salafis, organisation, freedom, justice

**Name and description.** Both lists have the words *جماعة group/society* and *المسلمين Muslims* as the Brotherhood is usually attached with these words in Arabic. *The Brotherhood* was described by both newspapers to have a rapid engagement in the political process in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya after the end of the revolutions. This is because it represented the most



powerful and organized political organization at that time, in addition to being the most prominent political opposition force in all the countries that witnessed protests. Some voices in *Al-Khaleej* accused the *Brotherhood's* political party in Egypt of “smuggling weapons” to Egypt through Libya. After the fall of the *Brotherhood* in Egypt in 2013, the Egyptian people are said to fight an “unprecedented war” in the country’s history against the international terrorism backed by the U.S. and led by the “terrorist Brotherhood”. In the newspaper, it is mentioned that there should be some efforts to correct the democratic path of the revolutions by excluding the allies of the “criminal Brotherhood” from politics.

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, it is highlighted that the group of the Muslim Brotherhood that was prohibited from political work for ages dominated the post-uprisings elections especially in Egypt and Tunisia. After being in power for a while, some voices in the newspaper mentioned that the popularity of the political religious mainstream was down after the “opportunism” الانتهازية, “greediness” الطمع and “political sclerosis” العناد السياسي of the *Brotherhood* in Egypt, and partly in Tunisia as the example below shows. To restore their power, it is mentioned that the Muslim Brotherhood and groups of political Islam began committing murders, bombings, attacking the police, and assassinating some officials as the concordance line 7.6 shows.

إن ممارسات تيارات الإسلام السياسي: «الإخوان المسلمون» في مصر، وحزب النهضة في تونس، ومناوراتهم وتكاليهم على السلطة، وأيضاً نزعتهم الشمولية والاستحوادية، كانت ولا تزال مضرّة مثل سبب  
 The practices of political Islam movements: «Muslim Brotherhood» in Egypt and the Renaissance (Ennahdha) Party in Tunisia, their manoeuvres and chelation on power, in addition to their inclusiveness and obsessive tendency have been representing bad examples.

Concordance 7.6: Negative representation of *الإخوان المسلمين* Muslim Brotherhood in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

**Status after 2011 uprisings.** As mentioned above, the outbreak of the Arab uprisings represented a golden opportunity for the Islamic parties, especially the *Muslim Brotherhood* whose members won different elections, presidential and parliamentary. The collocates حكم rule was statistically strong with the *Brotherhood* in *Al-Khaleej*, while the collocates سلطة authority, وصول arrivals, and حكم rule were salient in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. In *Al-Khaleej*, it is pointed out that the case of instability caused by the repercussions of the January 25 revolution in Egypt enabled the *Muslim Brotherhood* to arrive to power, highlighting how the whole nation experienced a series of setbacks that led to more fragmentation, division and dependency. It is even argued that the *Brotherhood* came to power in a given situation

and in a moment of great confusion, and that was not the real choice of the people. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the cluster فشل الإخوان المسلمين في حكم مصر “the failure of the Muslim Brotherhood to rule Egypt” was frequent, and the disadvantages of the rise of the Islamist parties to power were highlighted. For example, it is argued that Salafist jihadists have grown under the rule of Hamas in Gaza, al-Qaida has grown under the rule of the *Muslim Brotherhood* in Sudan, and Shiite violence has grown under the rule of Shiite Islam in Iran. To justify the Egyptian armed forces’ isolation of the first elected president after the uprisings, Mohammad Morsi, it is mentioned that the rule of the *Muslim Brotherhood* ruined the country, and the smuggling of weapons during that era increased significantly.

**Characters.** The collocates العام *general*, المرشد *guide*, القيادي *leader* and المراقب *observer* are used to refer to the general guide of the *Muslim Brotherhood* (frequently translated as “chairman”), specifically the Supreme Guides of the *Muslim Brotherhood* in Egypt محمد بديع *Mohammed Badie*, and in Libya بشير الكبتي *Bashir al-Kabti*. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, these two leaders were described in a neutral way mentioning their positions and reporting their opinions regarding the situation in their countries. However, and on some occasions, the general guide of the *Brotherhood* in Egypt was referred to indirectly in a negative way. For example, it is stated that the project of the *Brotherhood* led by *Badie* aims to drop all the ruling regimes in the Arab region and seize the whole power. In the same vein, *Al-Khaleej* covered news about the *Brotherhood*’s leadership in Libya, in the majority of cases, in a neutral way. However, and regarding the group’s branch in Egypt, the *Brotherhood*’s leaders were accused of committing murder, and inciting the killing of demonstrators.

**Parties and movements.** The main collocates in both lists in this category mainly والبناء *and construction*, والعدالة *and justice*, العدالة *justice*, and حزب *party* refer to the حزب الحرية والعدالة *Freedom and Justice Party*, the political wing of the *Muslim Brotherhood* in Egypt, and the حزب العدالة والبناء *Justice and Construction Party*, the *Muslim Brotherhood*’s political party in Libya. Another word that was present in both lists is السلفيين *Salafis*. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, both groups are sometimes referred to in the same way, i.e. as Islamic groups that are supported by people. However, on other occasions, they are portrayed as groups competing against each other to grab power, and were accused of having a frightening political lust, and acting like rulers even before arriving to power. *Al-Khaleej* discussed both group’s

struggle for power, and how their behaviours carried uncomfortable repercussions in terms of relations with other political groups in Egypt.

The analysis of *الاخوان المسلمين* the *Muslim Brotherhood* showed how both Arabic newspapers reflected the agendas of the countries where they are mainly published. For example, the United Arab Emirates listed the *Muslim Brotherhood* as a terrorist group, and arrested some of its members who were accused of establishing a secret organization that plots to toppling the regime (Diwan, 2015). In the same vein, in early 2014, the Saudi government adopted an anti-terrorism law that named the *Muslim Brotherhood* as one of the banned terrorist groups (Diwan, 2015). This explains the linguistic fierce campaign against the group's members in some Saudi and UAE affiliated newspapers.

## Summary

The keyword analysis of the Arabic newspapers showed *Al-Khaleej's* interest in covering UAE related issues, oil's prices, and sport related news, and *Asharq Al-Awsat's* focus on the outcomes of the Arab uprisings and their influence on different issues such as al-Qaida's role in the Libyan and Syrian civil wars. Unlike the two English newspapers that rarely referred to the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood as an important political power in the uprisings era, the two Arabic newspapers highlighted the political dominance of the *Muslim Brotherhood* in the post-uprisings era. The group's rise to power in several Arab states including Egypt, one of the most influential countries in the Arab regions, seems to annoy the Gulf monarchies due to their clashing opinions in different issues (Dacrema, 2013). This was clear when the UAE arrested several Egyptians and accused them of being part of a Muslim Brotherhood cell in its land, and this action was supported by Saudi Arabia. This explains why the group, especially its branch in Egypt, was represented negatively in both Arabic newspapers. The overall keyword analysis shows that although the two investigated newspapers had different focus, they tended to report events and represent characters similarly in many occasions. This means that pan-Arab newspapers, despite being located in Western cities, look more authoritarian than liberal in spite of their undergoing rapid change (Iskandar, 2007). This might be because they are, in the majority of cases, controlled by the elites, princes or businessmen, who hold close ties with governments (El-Bendary, 2003). In this sense, the analysis rarely showed any criticism for the ruling regimes of where the two

investigated newspapers are mainly published, or even to any other regimes that have not been overthrown yet.

The next section explores how *Qaddafi* is represented in this period.

### 7.3 The main investigated person in the study (Qaddafi)

This section's main focus is to uncover some discourses about the representation of *Qaddafi* in the four newspapers, and so it contributes to answering the following research question:

**4/C:** What does a collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* and other related terms in the post-uprisings period reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published?

Although *Qaddafi* was killed in 2011, his name is still frequent in this period to refer to his family members, forces, loyalists, era's symbols and elements and their future in the new Libyan State, and different stations in his life. The dispersion analysis of the normalized frequency of *Qaddafi* per million words in the English newspapers in this period shows that they had, in some months, similar peaks as shown in graph 7.1. However, the gap is clear in their Arabic counterparts' coverage as shown in graph 7.2. This shows that the interests of the newspapers after the fall of *Qaddafi* changed dramatically based on the overall agenda of the newspaper. For more information about the contextual background of this period, please see table 2.1 in chapter 2.

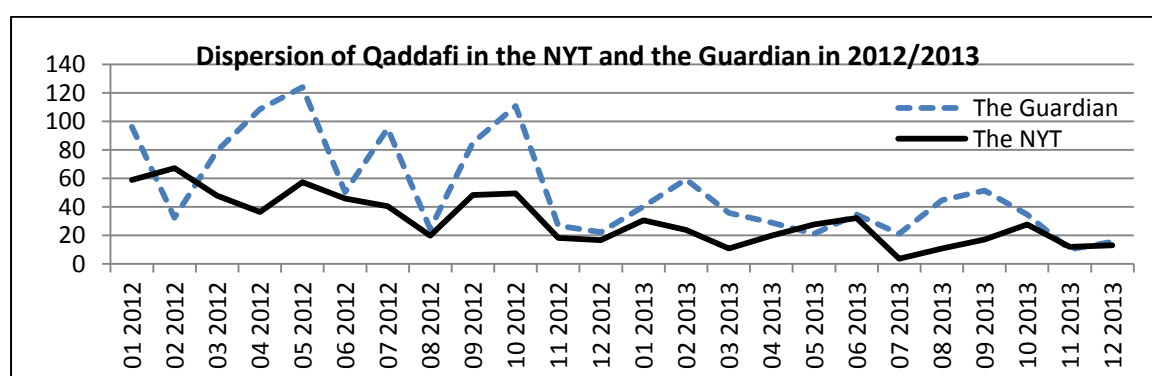


Figure 7.1: Dispersion of *Qaddafi* in the English newspapers in 2012/2013

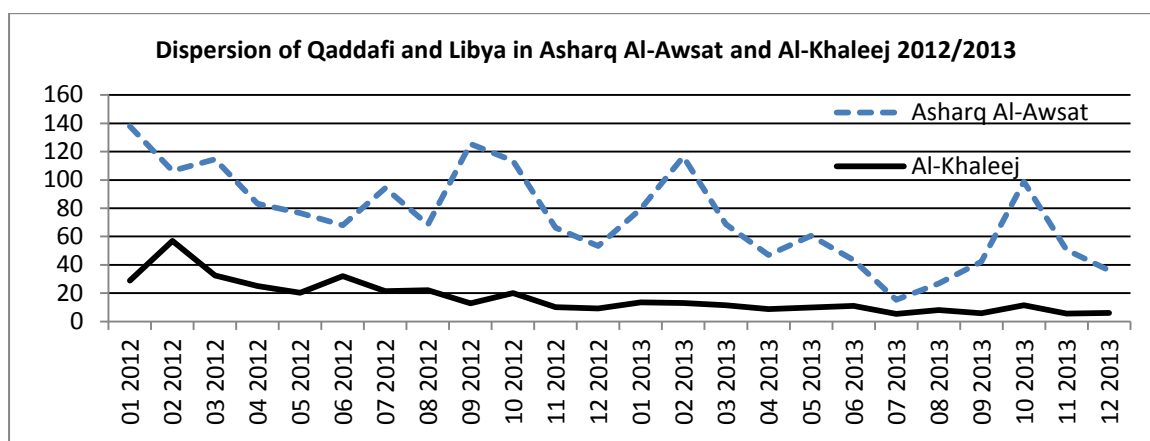


Figure 7.2: Dispersion of *القذافي* *Qaddafi* in the Arabic newspapers in 2012/2013

As in periods one (2009/2010) and two (2011), table 7.11 contains the statistically strongest 50 collocates with *Qaddafi* in period 3 (2012/2013) divided based on their part of speech (POS).

Table 7.11: POS categories for the collocates of *القذافي* *Qaddafi* in period 3 (2012/2013)

POS categories for the collocates of <i>القذافي</i> <i>Qaddafi</i> (Period 3)				
POS	English Newspapers		Arabic Newspapers	
Verbs	NYT	oust, topple, killed, fell, captured, fought, toppled, overthrow, fighting, killing, helped, ousted	Sh.	إسقاط ، للإطاحة ، أطاحت to drop, to overthrow, toppled
	Guar.	topple, led, accused, toppled, captured, backed, ousted	Kh.	أطاحت overthrew
Singular nouns	NYT	colonel, dictator, leader, brother, chief, son, fall, overthrew, regime, uprising, revolt, rule, ouster, revolution, death, power, era, trial	Sh.	نجل، بنظام، لنظام، لنظام، إسقاط ، الإطاحة، عهد، ومقتله، سقوط، حكم، الزعيم، العقيد، السلطة، صهر، الانتفاضة، محاكمة، قوات، المخابرات، جهاز، ورئيس، سقوطه، ابن، حكومة، فترة، الثورة، حرب، مقتل son, (in/for/x) regime, overthrow, toppling, era, and his death, fall, rule, leader, Colonel, power, son in law, uprising, trial, forces, intelligence, apparatus, and the head of, his fall, the Son, government, period, revolution, war, death
	Guar.	colonel, leader, dictator, overthrow, chief, fall, family, son, era, regime, uprising, fighting, trial, dictatorship, meeting, intelligence, spy	Kh.	الزعيم ، العقيد ، سقوط ، عهد ، إطاحة ، بنظام ، لنظام ، نظام، حكم ، نجل، محاكمة ، الثورة ، انتهاء ، الحرب ، المحكمة ، الانتفاضة، إسقاط ، مرحلة ، للعقيد ، مخابرات، حكومة ، ابن ، البلاد ، القبض ، بتهمة ، مقتل ، ارتكاب Leader, Colonel, fall, era, overthrow, (in/for/x) regime, rule, son, trial, revolution, ending, war, the court, intifada, toppling, stage, Colonel, intelligence, government, son, country, arrest, on charges, killing, committing
Adj.	NYT	Libyan, anti, post, armed, long-time, suspected	Sh.	الراحل ، الشعبية ، ليبية late, popular, Libyan

	<b>Guar.</b>	Libyan, anti, late, secret, loyal, post, pro, close, Western	<b>Kh.</b>	الراحل ، الليبي ، السابقين ، الليبية late, Libyan, former, Libyan
<b>Proper nouns</b>	<b>NYT</b>	Muammar, Seif, Islam, Saadi, NATO, Tripoli, Libya, October	<b>Sh.</b>	أكتوبر، السنوسي، سيف، الإسلام، تشرين، شباط، معمر، فبراير، صدام، حسين، الناتو، الساعدي، مبارك، ومعمر، صالح، سرت، طرابلس October, Sanusi, Saif, Islam, October, February, Muammar, February, Saddam, Hussein, NATO, Saadi, Mubarak, and Muammar, Saleh, Sirte, Tripoli
	<b>Guar.</b>	Saif, Islam, Muammar, Abdullah, Senussi, Saadi, Saddam, Hussein, Mubarak , NATO, Libya, Tripoli,	<b>Kh.</b>	معمر، سيف، الإسلام، معمر، السنوسي، فبراير، الزنتان، أكتوبر، الساعدي، طرابلس، تشرين Moammar, Saif, Islam, Muammar, Sanusi, February, Zintan, October, Saadi, Tripoli, October
<b>Plural nouns</b>	<b>NYT</b>	loyalists, militias, rebels, forces, decades, Libyans, police	<b>Sh.</b>	كتائب، عائلة، أيام، الثوار، رموز، أموال، الليبيين، المحسوبين brigades, family, days, rebels, symbols, money, Libyans, affiliates
	<b>Guar.</b>	links, forces, officials, loyalists, fighters, rebels, sons	<b>Kh.</b>	السلطات، كتائب، جرائم، الثوار، أنصار، عائلة، رموز، قوات، الليبيين، عناصر، أشهر authorities, brigades, crimes, the rebels, supporters, family, symbols, forces, Libyans, elements, months

The POS collocates of *Qaddafi* in this period (2012/2013) show that the focus was on the Qaddafi's family and loyalists rather than to him because he died in October 2011. It also seems that the reporting in this period is partly about putting Qaddafi's rule under the microscope in a kind of a symbolic trial of his past 42 years in power.

Due to space constraints, few examples that illustrate key trends are discussed below:

### 7.3.1 English Newspapers

In this period, *Saif Islam* was referred to in both newspapers in the co-text of his arrest for committing crimes against humanity during his father regime's attempts to crush the rebellion. In the *NYT*, he was described in this period as "the most notorious survivor of the Qaddafi era", and was categorized with those who look more modern and enlightened than they might actually be. His reputation as a westernized reformer vaporized when he decided to support his father's regime till the last bullet. The *Guardian* densely covered *Saif-Islam*'s trial scene; he was described as the son of the former dictator and the playboy scion of the family that "terrorised" the country and who no more holds some residual sway.

The verbs *topple* and *toppled* were used in the *NYT* in the majority of cases to highlight the crucial role of the international coalition in overthrowing the Libyan regime in 2011. The plural noun *decades* was used in the *NYT* to highlight the violent practices of Qaddafi during four *decades* in power. Libyans are said to live for *decades* in the shadow of Qaddafi's "nasty", "brutish" and "long" rule. Libyans were also marginalized and brutally suppressed, and deprived of their share of Libya's wealth for *decades* under Qaddafi's rule.

Examining how the singular noun *rule* was used in the *NYT*, I found that Qaddafi's *rule* was described to be "autocratic", "repressive", and "tyrannical". Qaddafi's *rule* is said to depend on the collusion of foreign allies who would turn a blind eye to his blatant corruption. In this regard, it is implied in the newspaper that America is the saviour that can help the Libyans to prevent such corruption from happening again. Unlike the other two previous periods, the collocate *dictator* was salient with *Qaddafi* in the *NYT* (concordance 7.7). Qaddafi is described as the "deposed" (line 1), "fallen" (line 2), "Libyan" (lines 3-11), "former" (line 8), "late" (line 9), "long-time" (line 12), "murderous" (line 13), and "long-reigning" (line 15) *dictator*.

1	stronghold of support for Libya's <b>deposed</b> <b>dictator</b> , Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> . Officials had
2	aide to Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the <b>fallen</b> <b>dictator</b> , and not extradite them to The Hague.
3	that Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> , carried out against his people. Colonel
4	crisis, Mr. Ilyumzhinov, who called the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> a friend,
5	wife of the French president, with the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> , Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , in 2007.
6	Oil Firm Former rebels who fought the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> and are now
7	wife of the French president, with the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> in 2007.
8	his looks with those of the former <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> , Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> . "Why can't
9	to Stand Trial The son of the late <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> and his spy chief
10	an international coalition to topple the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> , Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , among other
11	linebacker; and Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the <b>Libyan</b> <b>dictator</b> who was killed in 2011. In April
12	against Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the <b>longtime</b> <b>dictator</b> . Their leaders complain that they have
13	supporting the overthrow of Libya's <b>murderous</b> <b>dictator</b> , Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> . But the
14	to build a democracy after four decades of <b>dictatorship</b> under Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> .
15	of Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the <b>long-reigning</b> <b>dictator</b> , an air of revolution still hangs over
16	of Seif al-Islam <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , a son of the <b>dictator</b> and onetime heir apparent. But the
17	for the ultimate goal, the overthrow of the <b>dictator</b> . Despite a repressive <b>Qaddafi</b> regime,
18	of the country, where the rebellion against the <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> began. The
19	and interviews in Libya after the fall of the <b>dictator</b> Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , includes a
20	born out of injustice, poverty, the cruel <b>42-year</b> <b>dictatorship</b> of Col. Muammar <b>el-Qaddafi</b> , the

Concordance 7.7: *dictator* in the co-text of *Qaddafi* in the *NYT*

*Post-Qaddafi* was used in the *NYT* to highlight the case of instability and chaos in the new Libyan State, linking it with the attack on the US consulate and the death of the American Ambassador in Benghazi (lines 1 and 2). The security situation in the *post-Qaddafi* era was a focal point in the *NYT* with concerns of turning the region into “a dangerous magnet for jihadist terrorists” (lines 4 and 5). However, sometimes, a sense of sympathy and even excuses for the Libyans were observed mainly by pointing out that they had suffered a lot under Qaddafi and so such instability was to be expected (line 6) (concordance 7.8).

1	Attack on U.S. mission highlights <b>militia menace</b> in <b>post-Qaddafi period</b>
2	Mr. Obama rewarded Mr. Stevens with the nomination to become the first ambassador in a <b>post-Qaddafi Libya</b> , and he arrived in May with indefatigable enthusiasm for the country's prospects <b>as a free, Western-friendly democracy</b> .
3	The United States <b>waded</b> deeply into <b>post-Qaddafi Libya</b> , hoping to build a beachhead against <b>extremists</b> , especially Al Qaeda.
4	The <b>volatile security situation</b> in <b>post-Qaddafi Libya</b> has added to the challenge of...
5	The militia leaders who have turned <b>post-Qaddafi Libya</b> into a patchwork of semiautonomous fiefs are now plunging into politics
6	<b>Post-Qaddafi Libya</b> is <b>chaotic</b> , with a lot of the former regime's weaponry finding its way into <b>unsavory hands</b> .

Concordance 7.8: *Post-Qaddafi* in the *NYT*

The *Guardian*, as in the previous period, focused on Qaddafi's links with different countries and institutions in general, and Britain and its institutions in particular. The close relations and links between Qaddafi's regime and the LSE, and the UK's intelligence services MI5 and MI6 were discussed. The plural noun *loyalists* were used in the *Guardian* to highlight the negative role that the Qaddafi *loyalists* played in the post-uprisings era, actively trying to destabilise the situation there and cause trouble (lines 1, 4, and 6). That was because they were in a state of denial after the death of their leader (line 7). The pro-Qaddafi *loyalists* were blamed and accused of having links to different bombings in different Libyan cities (lines 2, 3, and 5) (concordance 7.9).

1	<b>breath! Bernie Evans Liverpool Libya: Qaddafi loyalists accused</b> of power grid bomb plot A
2	<b>was 21 May 1864. Middle East: Libya: Qaddafi loyalists blamed</b> for car bombings as 32 people
3	<b>is unclear. Libyan officials blamed pro-Qaddafi loyalists linked</b> to the bombings in Tripoli.
4	<b>4 show Science last October. Armed Qaddafi loyalists seize</b> Libyan town: Old regime's flag
5	<b>camera, he claimed. In a reference to Qaddafi loyalists, who</b> are still active in parts of Libya,
6	<b>plot A Libyan militia has captured nine Qaddafi loyalists who</b> had been plotting to blow up
7	<b>, to destabilise the situation. Asked why Qaddafi loyalists would</b> want to cause trouble, since

Concordance 7.9: *loyalists* in the co-text of *Qaddafi* in the *Guardian*



Examining how *post-Qaddafi* was used in the *Guardian*, I found that the newspaper focused on the political aspect of the new Libya in the post-Qaddafi era rather than the miserable security situation in the country as in the *NYT*. For example, *post-Qaddafi* elections are described to be the first democratic vote in the country for more than 40 years and the first “since 1965” (lines 1, 2, and 3). It is pointed out in the newspaper that the *post-Qaddafi* Libya needs an emphatic break from personality to party politics, as the country suffered from the “dictatorship” of one person for 42 years (lines 4, 5, and 6) (concordance 7.10).

1	. With Libyans to vote today in their <b>first post-Qaddafi</b> election, Bani Walid holds clues to
2	, and debate whether Libya's <b>fledgling post-Qaddafi</b> state should have a parliamentary
3	transitional government following July's <b>historic post-Qaddafi</b> elections, the first democratic
4	. . . Analysis A new low for volatile <b>Libya, post-Qaddafi</b> Libya's slide into chaos reached a
5	willing to put together a grand coalition to <b>rule post-Qaddafi</b> Libya. It will include Islamist
6	. In Libya, it has helped the creation of <b>the post-Qaddafi</b> state," Gowan said, adding: "We
7	stagnates as rubbish piles up in <b>Tripoli: Post-Qaddafi</b> vacuum leaves militias at

Concordance 7.10: *Post-Qaddafi* in the *Guardian*

I examined how the verbs *ousted* and *toppled* were used in the *Guardian*, and found that the NATO's support for the rebels was highlighted as in “Qaddafi was toppled by western-backed rebels in late 2011”. As in periods 1 and 2, the singular noun *dictator* was present in the *Guardian*'s list in this period. Qaddafi was described as a brutal *dictator* who did not only brutalise his people (lines 2 and 3), but also gave Semtex to the IRA, helped in blowing up a plane over Lockerbie (line 1), and did other dreadful things. He was also described as the “apocalyptically cruel” and “violent” Libyan *dictator* (line 4). The role of the international coalition in overthrowing the regime of the dictator was also highlighted (lines 6 and 7). The singular noun *dictatorship* was also a collocate with *Qaddafi* in this period showing that Qaddafi ran a repressive *dictatorship* that used the country's oil wealth (line 10) and tribal divisions to stay in power. Different sectors in Libya are said to be left in chaos because of Qaddafi's *dictatorship* which was so absolute and all-pervasive (lines 9, 11, and 12) (concordance 7.11).

1	them to get rid of <b>Qaddafi</b> , who was a <b>brutal dictator</b> . "He didn't just brutalise the people of
2	Libya in its transition from the rule of the <b>late dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> . Militia units, which
3	tortured by the security police of the <b>former dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> . Having sought for
4	the late, apocalyptically cruel and violent <b>Libyan dictator Colonel Muammar Qaddafi</b> , would it?
5	include a 2006 opera about the former <b>Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> , and playful art
6	its intervention to help topple former <b>Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> . "It will not involve
7	decision to overthrow the regime of <b>Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> ". What issue might
8	al-Islam Qaddafi, the son of the ousted <b>Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi</b> , has accused the
9	a health service left in chaos by the <b>Qaddafi dictatorship</b> are in tatters. A health ministry
10	Arab spring. Muammar <b>Qaddafi</b> ran a <b>repressive dictatorship</b> that used the country's oil wealth,
11	with the levers of power. <b>Qaddafi's dictatorship</b> was so absolute and all-pervasive
12	. The flags were symbols of <b>Qaddafi's 42-year dictatorship</b> . But elders yesterday disputed

Concordance 7.11: *dictator* in the co-text of *Qaddafi* in the Guardian

### 7.3.2 Arabic Newspapers

In this period, the focus in both Arabic newspapers was on Qaddafi's regime, rule, era, family, sons, supporters, aides, and army. That was mainly because he was killed at the end of the previous period, and so some comparisons between the situation in Libya during and after Qaddafi's era were held. Qaddafi was described in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as the *late* Libyan "leader" الزعيم (almost 98% of the cases), the *late* Libyan "president" الرئيس (3 times), and the *late* Libyan "dictator" الديكتاتور (3 times). The most salient verbs collocates with *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat* are related to the toppling of his regime; for example the newspaper highlighted that the brigades of the rebels that already succeeded in *overthrowing* Qaddafi are seeking to *overthrow* his supporters. The singular noun عهد *era* was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to refer to the crimes committed at the *era* of Qaddafi who humiliated his people for four decades (line 2), "destroyed" the country (line 1), and "divided" it into tribes. Some ethnic groups suffered from marginalization in the *era* of the "late dictator" الديكتاتور الراحل, and were deprived from exercising their most basic rights. The military institutions turned in the *era* of Qaddafi from a central ministry to a group of brigades headed by his relatives and supporters (concordance 7.12).

1	ليبيا في عهد القذافي لم تكن دولة بها فساد، بل كانت دولة فاسدة، وهذا خلق مناخا وثقافة تستبيح المال العام وتنتهك حرمة Libya in <b>Qaddafi's era</b> was not a state that has corruption, but a corrupt state. This thing created a climate and culture that squanders the public money and violates its inviolability
2	بعد 42 عاما من الذل والاستبداد في عهد القذافي After 42 years of humiliation and tyranny in the <b>era</b> of <b>Qaddafi</b> .

Concordance 7.12: عهد *Era* as a collocate of القذافي *Qaddafi* in *Asharq Al-Awsat*

In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, سيف الاسلام *Saif al-Islam* was described the son of the “Green Colonel” العقيد الأخضر who was enjoying a strong influence at the time of his father. To criticize the branch of Brotherhood in Libya, it is mentioned that many of the group’s leaders worked with the Qaddafi regime, and some of them participated in the promotion of *Saif al-Islam*’s succession. I also examined how السنوسي *al-Senussi*, Qaddafi’s former intelligence chief and brother-in-law, was referred to in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and found that he is described as Qaddafi’s strong man who played a key role in the violent military response to the uprisings in 2011 being the right arm of the former Qaddafi regime. He was also described as a “butcher” جزار and “thug” سفاح, because of his severity in the prosecution of the opponents of Qaddafi’s rule. As in period 2, Qaddafi, Mubarak (the former Egyptian president), and Saleh (the former Yemeni president) were represented negatively in this period. During their eras, it is argued that security is defined as the security of power and authority rather than of people. They are said to have the will to move on the bodies of the victims and the people whom they swore to protect in order to save their positions. The plural noun الليبيين *Libyans* was used in *Asharq Al-Awsat* to highlight the cruelty of the Qaddafi regime with the *Libyans* who suffered from repression, deprivation and loss of freedom at Qaddafi’s era. The plural noun الأيام *days* was used to refer to the years of ‘oppression’ during the *days* of the rule of the late Colonel. After the end of the revolution, it is mentioned that the main problems were not created due to the collapse of the regime, but were inherited from Qaddafi’s *days*.

*Al-Khaleej* highlighted the Libyans’ demands of purging and cleansing the post-Qaddafi government from his era’s officials, in addition to trying them if they were involved in war crimes. The singular noun نظام *regime* was used in *Al-Khaleej* to discuss the main consequence of the Arab uprisings represented by the collapse of the long-standing *regimes* in different Arab countries. The newspaper also discussed the fate of the رموز “symbols”, “pillars”, اركان “element” and انصار “supporters” of the former *regimes*, and their role in the post-uprisings era. Examining the verb اطاح *topple* in *Al-Khaleej*, I found that Libya is said to be cautiously optimistic after the *toppling* of the Qaddafi’s regime that ruled the country for more than forty years. The situation in Libya in the post Qaddafi’s era is said to be “miserable” where assassinations, bombings, smuggling of weapons and export of terrorism mean that the war that *toppled* Qaddafi’s regime created chaos rather than democracy and freedom.

In *Al-Khaleej*, the singular noun عهد *era* was used to refer to the violations of human rights, torture, kidnappings, and absence of democracy and free election in the *era* of Qaddafi. In the *era* of Qaddafi, many oil deals were made in a secret way, and from under the table. Libya's foreign policy and relations with the world were done according to subjective measures related to Qaddafi and his volatile mood and eccentric personality. In the *era* of Qaddafi, the regime was careful not to form a regular army or security forces in the known concept, as there was fear of the army or the police to turn against it. Therefore, the repercussions of the *era* of Qaddafi broke out a package of problems and challenges in the post-revolution *era* as the following example in 7.13 shows.

إذا استمرت أجواء انعدام الأمن ستجد البلاد نفسها في عزلة مجدداً كما كانت في عهد القذافي عندما اعتبرت دولة مارقة  
If the situation of insecurity continues in the country, Libya will find itself in isolation again as it was in the era of Qaddafi where it was considered as a **rogue state**.

Concordance 7.13: عهد *Era* as a collocate of القذافي *Qaddafi* in *Al-Khaleej*

The trial of سيف الاسلام *Saif Islam*, how he was arrested, and where he should be tried were frequently referred to in this period in *Al-Khaleej*. سيف الاسلام *Saif Islam* is said to be the most important current Libyan figure as he has secrets about the long era of his father's rule. Examining how السنوسي *al-Senussi*, Qaddafi's former intelligence chief and brother-in-law, was represented in *Al-Khaleej*, I found that he was described as the treasurer of Qaddafi's precious secrets, and his black box. سيف الاسلام *Saif al-Islam* and السنوسي *al-Senussi* were mentioned frequently together because they were caught and accused of genocide, incitement to rape, giving orders to fire on unarmed demonstrators, bringing mercenaries to Libya, and forming armed militias to kill innocent people. Examining how *Al-Khaleej* referred to the plural noun الليبيين *Libyans*, I found that the regime was accused of wasting billions of the *Libyans'* money and transferring them to the accounts of Qaddafi, his sons and cousins. Qaddafi's regime is also said to work against the interests of the *Libyans*. The plural noun القوات *forces* was used to highlight the different atrocities that the Qaddafi troops did in Libya. These *forces* were accused of committing serious violations, and imposing a siege on some Libyan cities in an attempt to suppress the revolution of the *Libyans*.

## Summary

In this period, the four newspapers highlighted the different stations in Qaddafi's life; his forces, loyalists, era's symbols, and elements. Based on the POS collocates analysis, Qaddafi was described in the English corpus as a *dictator*, and his rule was described as "autocratic", "repressive", and "tyrannical", while the Arabic corpus referred to the crimes committed in his era, and accused him of destroying the country, and dividing it. Based on the corpus analysis, Qaddafi's residues, loyalists and family members were the main causes of chaos and instability in the post-uprisings era; in the Arabic newspapers perhaps to show that the support of most Arab countries for the international intervention in Libya was to protect the Libyan civilians from Qaddafi and his family, and in their English newspapers to highlight that the NATO-led intervention achieved its mission and removed the head of the regime and his family, and it is now the role of the new Libyan authority to control the situation locally, and cleanse the country from the residues of the Qaddafi's regime. In common with period 2, Qaddafi was part of the out-group members in this period and so was represented negatively being described as a tyrant and dictator. The explanation in period 2 was to legitimize the intervention, and in this period perhaps to show that the intervention was the right option to be taken in spite of the state of chaos that spread all over the country in the post-Qaddafi era as the situation might be worse if Qaddafi with such 'destructive' mentality stayed in power. In the same vein, when also referring to the Qaddafi's 'violent' acts during his 42 years in power, the newspapers justify the revenge violence and killing in the post-Qaddafi era as people have suffered under the Qaddafi regime; losing their family members, property, and freedom (Serwer, 2011), and so are seeking revenge using methods like those used against them.

In this period, there appears to be a review of the Qaddafi's era, i.e. a retrospect of the events of the past 42 years especially the atrocities committed by Qaddafi and his regime in these years. Given the newsworthiness preferences in the market-oriented media, less coverage of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* was observed in this period when compared to the previous one; perhaps because the death of Qaddafi symbolically ended the conflict and the country is supposed to be in its way to restore its stability. In addition, fighting turned out to be internal after the withdrawal of the international coalition and the end of its role there. Also, the events in Libya seem to have less news value when compared to the during uprisings period bearing in mind that the bigger the disaster the more likely it is to be reported. However, some events in

this period acquired special importance because of its relevance to powerful countries, or the places where the newspapers are mainly published as in the case of the Benghazi attack on the American consulate. In the post-Qaddafi era, less coverage is given to what is happening in Libya not only because of the problems of access but also because Libya, on the Western news agenda, is only relevant in relation to the ‘war on terror’, and Qaddafi’s nuclear program, and these seem to be more controlled after the death of Qaddafi.

#### 7.4 Period 3 discussion

In this section, I used different corpus linguistic techniques, namely frequency, keywords, collocation and concordance to examine the differences and similarities in the English and Arabic newspapers’ representation of *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the post-uprisings era (2012/2013). As the analysis above shows, period 3 covered the consequences of the Arab Spring in general, and the *Libyan* and *Syrian* uprisings in particular. Regarding Libya, the newspapers’ coverage in this period is characterized often by showing how the residues of Qaddafi’s era are dealt with. Some other issues such as the aftermath of NATO intervention, and the process of creating a new politically free state were less covered. In the process, the fate and trials of Qaddafi’s loyalists were densely highlighted looking back on the past events or situations that the regime was involved in both domestically and internationally. The unique words analysis showed that the four newspapers focused on whether the residues of the former regimes will play any roles in the new era after the uprisings. The *NYT* densely covered the Benghazi attack that led to the killing of the US Ambassador and other three officials describing the whole event as “brutal”, “deliberate”, “lethal” and “horrible”. The two Arabic newspapers also covered this incident and quoted some people who described it as “terrorist” *ارهابي*, “bloody” *دموي*, “brutal” *وحشي*, and “cowardly” *جبان* being an example of a cross-national standardization of terrorism coverage (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2013). However, despite such similarities, the *NYT* covered the news from a US national point of view and highlighted how the American people and institutions are targets for different ‘terrorist’ attacks, while the two Arabic newspapers, by referring to the offending US film to the prophet of Islam, portrayed the event as a reaction to an American offence to the Islamic and Arabic identity. In the English corpus, the Arab Spring was represented neutrally and negatively in most cases due to the case of turmoil it caused not only in the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. The *NYT* gave more

space to the growing number of extremists in the region and the success of Islamist parties in the post-uprisings elections more than the *Guardian*, and this suggests that the American foreign policy is more interested in the development of terrorism in the Middle East when compared to Britain. The unique words in the Arabic corpus showed that *Al-Khaleej*, to some extent, returned to its style in period 1, i.e. concentrating more on national issues than pan-Arab or international ones. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its concentration on pan-Arab issues, mainly the 2011 uprisings and their consequences. In *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, the hesitation of the international community in taking action regarding whether to militarily intervene in Syria or not was highlighted and densely covered.

The keyword analysis results of the two English newspapers showed that the *NYT* covered more news about terrorism related issues, while the *Guardian* focused on the links of Qaddafi's regimes with Britain. The difference in the focus shows how the national contexts and the place of where the media organisation operates influence the media coverage (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2013). It also appears that giving such importance to anti-terrorist discourse in the *NYT* is a way to highlight the value of security making it even more important than the values of civil rights and equality for example (Doherty & McClintock, 2002). The *Guardian*'s concentration on the UK historical engagement with the Libyan regime, and then its vital role in its toppling was a way to tell the readers that one of the features of the civilized societies are correcting their previous mistakes. Moreover, covering such aspects is evidence of international affairs being domesticated, i.e. relevant when there is a local angle and otherwise only sporadically newsworthy. In the Arabic corpus, the Muslim Brotherhood is said to come to power in a given situation and in a moment of great confusion. The group's rise to power in Egypt seems to annoy the Gulf monarchies due to their clashing opinions in different issues (Dacrema, 2013). This explains why the group, especially its branch in Egypt, was represented negatively in both Arabic newspapers.

The POS collocates of *Qaddafi* showed how the four newspapers covered much news about Qaddafi's family and their fate under the new Libyan state. They also highlighted different stations in Qaddafi's life; his forces, loyalists, and era's symbols. In the English corpus, *Qaddafi* was described as a dictator, and his rule was described as "autocratic", "repressive", and "tyrannical". In the same vein, the Arabic corpus referred to the crimes committed at Qaddafi's era, and accused him of destroying the country, and dividing it.

Accordingly, based on the representation of Qaddafi, there appears to be a review of the Qaddafi's era, i.e. a retrospect of the events of the past 42 years especially the atrocities committed by Qaddafi and his regime in these years. This negative description is perhaps a way to show that the intervention was the right option to be taken in spite of the state of chaos that spread all over the country in the post-Qaddafi era as the situation might be worse if Qaddafi with such 'destructive' mentality stayed in power. This is also a way to justify the revenge and violence in the post-Qaddafi era as people have suffered under the Qaddafi regime (Serwer, 2011), and so are seeking revenge using methods like those used against them.

The next chapter concludes the study, summarizes the major research findings, discusses its contributions and impact, identifies its limitations, and makes recommendations for further studies.



## 8. Chapter Eight

### Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

In this thesis, I have conducted a combination of both corpus based and corpus driven contrastive critical discourse analysis to investigate how the 2011 Libyan civil war is linguistically, discursively, and politically represented in media. I have also examined how the regime of *Qaddafi* is constructed before, during, and after 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began and ended. This is based on a new 27-million word corpus of four newspapers; two published in English (*The Guardian* and *The New York Times*), and two in Arabic (*Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*) from 2009 to 2013. This chapter is a reflection on the thesis. It contains a summary of this thesis, emphasising its purpose and the unique values it offers in terms of contributions to the body of knowledge. It further discusses the challenges, contributions, and impact of the present study. The chapter ends with a consideration of the limitations of this thesis, and the potentially fruitful avenues for future research.

#### 8.1. Research findings

In this thesis, I asked 5 questions, to which I now return:

**1:** Are there any constant/frequent discourses with *Qaddafi* in *The Guardian*, *The NYT*, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, and *Al-Khaleej* from 2009 to 2013?

**2:** What are the most frequent topics/themes discussed in news articles relating to *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in

**A:** the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

**B:** during the uprisings (2011)?

**C:** post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

**3:** What does a keyword Analysis reveal about the most salient themes in *The Guardian* and *The NYT* on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* on the other one in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt* in

**A:** the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

**B:** during the uprisings (2011)?

C: post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

4: What does a collocation analysis of *Qaddafi* and other related terms reveal about the agendas and policies of the countries where the investigated newspapers are located and published in

A: the pre-uprisings period (2009/2010)?

B: during the uprisings (2011)?

C: post-uprisings period (2012/2013)?

5: In what ways is the era of the Arab Spring defined and constructed in periods 2 (2011), and 3 (2012/2013) in Arabic and English newspapers in articles that contain at least one mention of either *Libya\**, *Qaddafi*, *Tripoli*, *Benghazi*, and *Sirt*?

### 8.1.1. Common words analysis (Question 1)

In the frequency analysis, I examined the most frequent 25 lexical words in the *Guardian* and the *NYT* and the most frequent 35 lexical words in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*. The common words analysis, which refers to the words that occurred across the three investigated time periods when investigating the most frequent 25/35 words, suggests the absence of prominent/common discourses with *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the three periods. The findings also showed that the discourse of war began to appear in period 2 (2011). Such discourse was not observed in period 1 (2009/2010) where *Libya* and *Qaddafi* seem to be reported and represented as any other country and leader. In period 3 (2012/2013), both war and post-war discourses were observed. This supports the idea that there was a change in the way *Qaddafi* was represented before 2011 (pre-revolution period), and after it (post revolution period).

### 8.1.2. Unique words analysis (Question 2)

After examining the words that occurred in the three periods, I investigated the most frequent unique words in each period separately by looking at the words that only occur in (a) particular period(s) rather than others. The aim behind this was to uncover the different news foci about *Libya* and *Qaddafi* in the three periods. In period 1, the *Guardian* mainly covered the release of Megrahi, while the *NYT* focused more on nuclear program issues, oil,

and Libya's relation with other countries. *Al-Khaleej*, in the majority of cases, addressed local and national issues that are related to the United Arab Emirates where it is located and mainly published. In *Asharq Al-Awsat*, most of the unique words reflected pan-Arab issues. Therefore, the English newspapers discussed Libya's involvement in some events on the international arena, while the Arabic newspapers gave more space to Libya's involvement in some national and pan-Arab activities especially the Arab league summits. This period was taken as a baseline and a starting point to measure and assess the newspapers' style and type of coverage in the other two periods.

In period 2, the four newspapers mainly focused on the outbreak of the Arab uprisings, and how the security forces in most of the involved countries responded "severely" and "violently" to the demonstrations against the regimes. The situation in *Libya* was heavily and predominantly discussed, simply because the whole corpus was built using some query terms related to the Libyan civil war. Moreover, given the newsworthiness preferences in the market-oriented media, more coverage of the 2011 Libyan civil war and Qaddafi was expected in this period especially in the days of heavy fighting and when the the Qaddafi forces and loyalists commit atrocities against the Libyan civilians. When examining the English newspapers' unique words, I found that the words that collocated with the governmental forces and loyalists have negative connotations. That was due to their 'cruel' acts and attacks against civilians. The *Guardian* and the *NYT* highlighted the role of the international community in supporting the democratic waves in the Arab world, and NATO's role in protecting the Libyan people, supporting the rebels, and reducing Qaddafi regime's systematic attacks on civilians. The Arabic newspapers unique words analysis showed how *Al-Khaleej* shifted from focusing on national issues related to the UAE to concentrating more on some pan-Arab issues mainly related to the era of the uprisings. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, and highlighted the importance, consequences, and implications of the Arab uprisings not only on the Middle East and North Africa, but also the whole world. Therefore, the four newspapers covered the event in a relatively similar way although differences were also present in some cases based on the different agendas of each newspaper.

In period 3, the four newspapers gave more space to the *Syrian* case, on the one hand, and the fate of the former regimes' residues, and the consequences of the Arab revolutions on

the other one. The *NYT* heavily covered the *Benghazi* attack that led to the killing of the US ambassador, while the *Guardian* paid more attention to the links between the British officials and the regime of *Qaddafi*. *Al-Khaleej*, to a great extent, returned to its style in period 1, and concentrated more on national issues than pan-Arab or international ones. *Asharq Al-Awsat* continued its focus on pan-Arab issues, mainly the consequences of the uprisings, and the influence of *Iran* in the region.

### 8.1.3. Keyword analysis (Question 3)

I carried out a keyword analysis for the investigated newspapers by comparing the *NYT* and the *Guardian* against each other on the one hand, and *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* against each other on the other hand. I then examined the most salient 30 lexical keywords across the three periods. The keyword analysis of period 1 revealed both convergent and complementary results with the unique words analysis where the decision of *Megrahi's* release was more covered in the *Guardian* when compared to the *NYT* which gave more attention to *Libya's* relations with others, and its nuclear power program. The Arabic keywords showed how *Al-Khaleej* covered more issues about the UAE than *Asharq Al-Awsat* that focused on covering political issues rather than economic or sport-related news. In period 2, the keyword analysis of the English newspapers showed the *NYT's* focus on mainly two issues when compared to the *Guardian* namely, oil and terrorism. Conversely, the *Guardian* covered more news about the 'suspicious' links and relations between some British institutions and officials with non-democratic regimes represented in this phase by *Qaddafi* and his son. The Arabic keywords showed that *Asharq Al-Awsat* gave more focus to the Syrian case than *Al-Khaleej*. In period 3, the English corpus keyword analysis showed that the *NYT* covered more news about the US presidential election in 2012, the points of view of the US officials regarding different events across the world, and terrorism related issues. Conversely, the *Guardian* focused on the links of the *Qaddafi's* regime with Britain and the effect of such relations on different issues such as *Megrahi's* release, UK-Libya rendition program, and the Libyan compensation for the British victims of the IRA attacks. The Arabic keywords showed *Al-Khaleej's* interest in covering UAE related issues, oil price, and sport related news. Conversely, *Asharq Al-Awsat* focused on the outcomes of the Arab uprisings and their influence on different issues such as the al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb and its role in Libya, and al-Nusra Front, a branch of al-Qaida operating in Syria

and Lebanon and its role in the Syrian civil war. The political dominance of the Muslim Brotherhood in the post uprisings era was highlighted and the group, especially its branch in Egypt, was represented negatively in both Arabic newspapers.

#### **8.1.4. Qaddafi's POS collocates analysis (Question 4)**

In this part of the analysis, the approach was more corpus-based oriented, not like the previous sections which were more corpus driven oriented with the analysis being driven by the results of frequency and keyword analyses. This part of the analysis aimed to explore how *Qaddafi* was diachronically represented in the corpus to check whether the Arab uprisings have represented a turning point in the stance of the newspapers towards some regimes. In the process, *Qaddafi*'s collocates were divided based on their parts of speech into five categories, namely adjectives, verbs, singular nouns, plural nouns, and proper nouns before being further investigated using the concordance tool. The POS collocates of *Qaddafi* in period 1 showed that the four newspapers represented him, to great extents, neutrally. They frequently covered his visits to other countries and rarely referred to his 'absurd' proposals and 'stubbornness' in different issues especially his son's arrest in Switzerland. In the *NYT*, for very few occasions and infrequently, *Qaddafi* was called as the "mad dog" of the Middle East. In the *Guardian*, he was described as a "dictator" 5 times mostly in Comment and Debate section. In the two Arabic newspapers, there were few or no words with negative connotations with *Qaddafi*, although they sometimes indirectly referred to some of his 'weird' acts. The main focus in *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej* was covering *Qaddafi*'s different activities, visits, and contribution to solving out some problems in the Arab world and Africa. Based on the overall analysis of this period, the four newspapers could be sorted based on their level of criticism to *Qaddafi* as follows *Al-Khaleej* (the least), *Asharq Al-Awsat*, the *Guardian*, and the *NYT* (the most).

The POS collocates of *Qaddafi* in period 2 showed how the newspapers moved from describing him neutrally and sometimes positively to severe negativity. They have not only highlighted his use of excessive power against his own people during the 2011 uprisings, but also criticized his policies and behaviours during his 42 years in power. In the English corpus, the *Guardian* shifted from mostly neutrality to severe criticism for *Qaddafi* and his regime. Such criticism was not only present in the Comment and Debate section as in period

1, but in almost all other sections of the newspaper. The *NYT* moved from indirect negativity to direct and severe criticism to *Qaddafi*, and unlike the *Guardian*, the collocates *dictator*, *dictatorship*, *tyrant*, and *tyranny* were not in the *NYT* list, but still *Qaddafi*'s 'weird' behaviours and 'cruel' acts were frequently referred to. In the Arabic newspapers, *Al-Khaleej* appeared to be more conservative in showing the negativity of *Qaddafi* than *Asharq Al-Awsat* which was more open and described *Qaddafi* for several times as the Libyan "dictator" الديكتاتور and "tyrant" الطاغية. The four newspapers had different techniques to portray how *Qaddafi* misused power. For example, the *NYT* described his rule as "erratic" and "authoritarian", the *Guardian* described him as a "dictator", *Asharq Al-Awsat* described his regime as فاسد "corrupt", كاذب "lying", ديكتاتوري "dictatorial", قمعي "repressive", and غير شرعي "illegitimate", and *Al-Khaleej* highlighted the "corruption" of his era especially in oil trade, and described it as "the era of terror".

Since *Qaddafi* died in October 2011 (phase 2), his POS collocates in phase 3 in the two corpora were related, in 80% of the incidents, to his family and their fate under the new Libyan state. The newspapers also highlighted the different stations in *Qaddafi*'s life; his forces, loyalists, era's symbols and elements; how they were arrested, and where they should be tried. In this period, there appears to be a review of the *Qaddafi*'s era, i.e. a retrospect of the events of the past 42 years especially the atrocities committed by *Qaddafi* and his regime in these years. Based on the POS collocates analysis, *Qaddafi* was described in the English corpus as a "dictator", and his rule was described as "autocratic", "repressive", and "tyrannical", while the Arabic corpus referred to the crimes committed at his era, and accused him of destroying the country, and dividing it.

### 8.1.5. The representation of the Arab Spring (Question 5)

The period of the massive protests in 2011 in most Arab countries, mainly in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria was referred to in the four investigated newspapers as the "Arab revolutions", "Arab Spring", "Arab Spring revolutions", "Arab Winter", "Arab Awakening" and "Arab Uprisings". Examining how these clusters were used in the English and Arabic corpora, I found that they were very frequent in the four newspapers in period 2, and less frequent in period 3. A mixture of neutral, positive and negative discourses was associated with these phrases based on the timeline of the uprisings. For example, at the beginning of 2011, the year when most of the revolutions began and ended, the four

investigated newspapers appeared to be cautious and conservative, and described the events in a neutral way. After the toppling of some regimes (at the middle and towards the end of 2011), the era was praised and described to be democratic. However, and based on the immediate consequences of the event, negative representation was dominant in the newspapers' coverage of this era in period 3 (2012/2013). Some involved topics were frequently discussed in the four investigated newspapers, such as the rise of Islamists to power, and the growth of terrorist "extremist" groups on the side-lines of the era. The two Arabic newspapers gave more space to the economic impact of the event, the aftermath of the era, the new ruling regimes and whether the dreams of the protesters have been achieved or not. The English newspapers focused at the beginning of the event on the democratic aspect of the era, and how it caused the fall of some authoritarian autocratic long-standing regimes. However, in period 3, the majority of the analytics reflected the concerns over what happened in most of the Arab uprisings countries.

The next section provides some analytical commentary on the findings of this study by linking the results to different CDA approaches.

## **8.2. CDA and the study findings**

This study attempted not to depend only on the quantitative corpus analysis, and so used some CDA approaches and notions to interpret and explain the findings. As mentioned in chapter three, CDA investigates the relationship between language and power, and pays much attention to the crucial role that context plays in discourse (Wodak, 2001). In this study, I investigated how language is used in newspapers, being mainly controlled by power elites (Van Dijk, 1996), to legitimize certain events related to the Arab Spring and delegitimize others. During the periods of conflicts, most people are exposed to vast amount of information via different means especially media, and so might have a difficulty in judging the political effect of the information they receive bearing in mind that meanings are multidimensional and slippery rather than monolithic. In this study, I examined the relationship between the language of newspapers and the countries where they are mainly located and published, and linked them to some discourse and socio-cultural practices. It is cited in the literature (see Herman & Chomsky, 1988) that media reflect the values and points of view of political elites. This might be clearer in the Arab world than its Western

counterpart. Comparing the Western newspapers with their Arabic counterparts in terms of the political context where they are based and published and the government pressure on them, it can be hypothesized that the reporting of the former would reflect the preference of the media organization that aims in most cases to maximize readership and revenue, while the reporting in the latter, due to the political constraints, would reflect the preference of the state where they are located due to the political constraints. In this study, I show that that media institutions operating in Western societies are not immune from state influence, especially at the time of wars and conflicts. Examples of this include how the two English newspapers positively represented the NATO intervention in Libya bearing in mind that Britain and the US where the *Guardian* and the *NYT* are located and mainly published were two of the leading countries in the international coalition in Libya. The two newspapers also demonized Qaddafi in periods two and three when compared to period one perhaps to justify and legitimise such intervention.

CDA has been of a great importance for this thesis because it contributes to understanding the different strategies that the four newspapers followed to deliver their messages based on the overall contexts of the 2011 Libyan civil war; neutrally and positively representing Qaddafi before it, and demonising him after its outbreak. This study also contributes to understanding the dialectical relation between language and society showing how language is influenced by society (how we talk to each other), and how society is partly shaped by language (how we behave to each other). It shows the critical role of language in general and the language of media in particular in the era of the Arab uprisings motivating some people to act in a particular way in a particular period of time (for example to protest against their ruling regimes) and in a different way in another period of time. In this study, I analyzed the representation of the Arab uprisings in different newspapers, and considered the accompanying social and political actions, and found that the language of media influenced people's actions in that period. The uprisings began in late 2010, and early 2011, and the analysis showed that the newspapers were conservative at the beginning. However, after the overthrowing of some ruling regimes, they began describing it as democratic, and showing its positive impact on economy. This is an example of how language is influenced by society, i.e. the toppling of some regimes was one of the factors that influenced the language of the newspapers. At the same time, investigating what was happening in those societies after such positive representation for the era, I found that more and more people were taking part in the



protests. This is an example of how society is shaped by language. Then, the era was represented negatively as shown in period 3, and investigating the context, I found that there were fewer protests at this period when compared to 2011.

As recommended by the different CDA approaches especially Wodak's DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), I made a contextual analysis to the Arab Spring and the Libyan civil war, and studied some different aspects related to the text production such as the investigated newspapers' background and socio-political stance, and found that understanding these aspects facilitated explaining and interpreting my results. Investigating the nature of relations between Libya and the four countries where the investigated newspapers are located and mainly published, namely Saudi Arabia, the UAE, the U.S, and Britain helped me to have a better understanding to the idea that communicative events are not ideologically neutral, but are full of ideologically motivated materials. Fairclough (1995b) highlights the importance of the political and economic aspects for any piece of news that appears in the media including "the nature of the market which the mass media are operating within, and their relationship to the state, and so forth" (p. 36). Similarly, Fairclough (1995b) points out that while analysing media texts, the politics of media should be taken into consideration where media ideologically serve those who are in power, and have the privilege to manipulate language and portray the situations in different ways in order to evoke people's emotions toward some critical, special and important events. Newspapers, being the investigated texts, proved to be useful resources in society since their emergence (Vasundara Priya & Ravi, 2016). They have powerful effects on the public, and this is why elite groups or institutions take them as a platform to win the hearts and minds of the people, and reshape their discourse and legitimize their actions.

Chapter 5 showed how some events in the uprisings were legitimized/ de-legitimized through linguistic practices. For instance, in the four newspapers, the Libyan civilians were described as being brutally attacked by a dictatorial regime, while the air strikes of NATO that caused the death of some Libyan civilians were rarely covered, and if so, they were described in a lenient manner. Other examples of this notion include: the negative representation of Iran in *Asharq Al-Awsat* maybe because of its 'strained' relations with Saudi Arabia, the negative representation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in *Al-Khaleej* perhaps due to the UAE mounting tension with the group, and its concerns of the MB's rise

to power, and the negative representation of some extremist groups in the *NYT* to praise the American efforts in fighting these groups, and highlight how the issue of terrorism matters in the American foreign policy .

The newspapers also tended to represent countries based on their relation with the governments of where the newspapers are mainly published; for example *Iran* was constructed in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as the “true enemy” of the Sunni-ruled Gulf Arab states especially Saudi Arabia highlighting its growing influence in the Arab region, mainly in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Bahrain. In *Al-Khaleej*, the focus was mainly on the effect of the sanctions imposed on *Iran* on the price of oil, and on the UAE long-standing dispute with *Iran* over three islands, while the *NYT* focused on the nuclear program of *Iran* being a significant contributor to regional instability and global proliferation perhaps to legitimize any action (to be) taken by the U.S against it, or maybe because Iran, on the Western news agenda, is mainly relevant in relation to the ‘war on terror’, and its nuclear program. Frequently reporting some countries and characters negatively/positively suggests that the four newspapers do not operate within a vacuum. They are influenced by the stock of ideas circulating in the culture in which they are working.

In chapter 5, there were some words that had a strong relation with each other; examples of these include *Assad* and *violence* in *Al-Khaleej*, *NATO* and *protect* in the *Guardian*, and *attack* and *terrorist* in the *NYT*. The relation between these words depends on the context in which they occur, who the receivers and producers of the text are, and how the audience process the phrase. When two words or phrases keep appearing next to each other in most contexts, it would be difficult for the text receivers to exclude any of them, and once one of these words is mentioned, they will directly think of its collocate (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). This process may affect how issues are viewed and understood. For example, in *Asharq Al-Awsat*, if *Iran* is used next to *danger* over a period of time and the readers receive them repeatedly over the same period of time, the two words after a while turn out to have a strong relation they did not have before. Hunston (2002) suggests that the strong relation between two terms, created and adopted by media, may lead people to adopt, without even questioning, that *Iran*, for example, is the real enemy of Arabs. This process may even get more complicated, especially, when people hear one word and immediately and unconsciously recall and think of the other one.

The CDA notion of polarization (*Us* versus *Them*) was used to interpret some of the findings in this study where people tend to present themselves as having positive attitudes while concentrating on the other group negative attributes. As discussed above, Van Dijk (2006b) refers to this overall strategy as the ideological square as table 8.1 shows.

Table 8.1: Van Dijk's ideological square

Van Dijk's ideological square	
Emphasize <b>Our</b> good things	Emphasize <b>Their</b> bad things
De-emphasize <b>Our</b> bad things	De-emphasize <b>Their</b> good things

In this study, I investigated this ideological dichotomy by examining the historical, political and social background of the Arab Spring countries and regimes in general, and Libya and Qaddafi in particular, the political affiliation of the investigated newspapers, and the interests of the countries where these newspapers are mainly published and their relations with some Arab regimes. In the process, I analysed the power relations between Libya and the UK, the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and the UAE as discourse cannot be fully understood without considering the context (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). I then examined how the self-group (US) and the other group (THEM) are constructed in the investigated newspapers. Examples of this strategy are spread throughout the corpus; in the *NYT*'s coverage of news about al-Qaida, the newspaper quoted some US officials who narrated some stories related to al-Qaida from a collective point of view, i.e. by using the pronouns *we*, *us* and *our* to highlight that Americans are the most affected by al-Qaida's terrorism being the victims of its different attacks, and doing their best in fighting the group and saving the lives of the world from terror. In the *Guardian*, the acts and deeds of *pro-Qaddafi* forces were reported using emotional language with some focus on their killing children and women and shelling civilian areas. Such emotional language was used perhaps to promote and legitimize the plans of the Western coalition in Libya, led by Britain, and emphasize that Britain's intervention is humanitarian, and derived from the country's right intention to halt or avert human suffering. In *Asharq Al-Awsat* and *Al-Khaleej*, when talking about the labelling of the uprisings as *the Arab Spring*, they highlighted that the term is not of Arab origin, and is coined elsewhere. In this context, they tended to use different strategies that highlight the

notion of the ideological square of discursive group polarisation by representing themselves (Arabs) positively, and 'Others' negatively.

This study is carried out on media texts that are produced in a period of conflict in which the power formula changed not only in the countries that were mainly affected by the protests and whose regimes were toppled, but also in most other countries in the regions whose governments were obliged to change their former allies in most cases. As discussed in chapter 5, the in-group and out-group formula kept changing through time based on the discussed situation. For example, in the pre-uprisings period, Qaddafi's identity was constructed as part of the self-group in the two Arabic newspapers being a president of an Arab country and frequently defending the rights of Arab and African countries in different international events. The same strategy was present in the *Guardian* and the *NYT* in this period especially when talking about Qaddafi's giving up his nuclear ambition and taking part in the west's 'War on Terror'. After the outbreak of the uprisings (2011), Qaddafi turned out to be part of the 'out-group' in the four investigated newspapers due to his violence against the 'innocent' Libyan people, while most of the Arab and Western countries were put together in one group forming an international coalition to save the lives of the increasingly desperate people of Libya. So, Qaddafi turned out from being frequently described as the *Libyan leader*, *Libyan Colonel*, and *Libya president* in period 1, to being the *Libyan dictator*, *Libyan tyrant*, and *Libyan autocrat* in periods 2 and 3. Stubbs (2007) argues that if the patterns occur several times in the language of many different speakers, then they cannot be dismissed. Accordingly, by frequently using the words *tyrant*, *autocrat*, and *dictator* next to Qaddafi over a period of time, and people receive them repeatedly over the same period of time, these words after a while turn out to have a strong relation they did not have before.

(Libyan) oil was one of the most dominant themes in the three time periods especially in the two English newspapers, mainly because Libya is considered as one of the wealthiest countries in the world, with 44.3 billion barrels of proven reserves in 2010 according to BP Statistical Review of World Energy (British Petroleum Company, 2010). Libya also has huge proven oil reserves as it produced 1.5 m to 1.6 m barrels per day until the outbreak of the uprisings when the production turned out to be below 100.000 barrels per day, which is less than a tenth capacity (U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2013). In this context, examining the Arab uprisings in media has provided a good opportunity to highlight the

impact of oil on the political ideology of some countries. Newspapers, in most cases, adopt the ideological view of the countries where they are published. In the investigated corpus, oil was strongly present before, during, and after the uprisings affecting the representation of certain countries and people over time. For example, in the co-text of Megrahi's release, London was accused of pushing behind the scenes for the release to win and secure billions of dollars in oil trade with Libya, and the whole event is connected with the British Petroleum (BP) plans to drill its first Libyan well in the second half of 2010. In the *NYT*, the themes of oil and terrorism were very frequent being repeatedly mentioned in the three periods. Kitchen (2012) points out that the US strategic involvement in the Middle East is rooted mainly from the country's hegemonic interest in secure and stable oil markets. The Arab uprisings mainly happening in an oil-rich region reignited the recurring debate about energy security and the reliability of the Middle East and North Africa as energy suppliers (El-Katiri et al., 2014). This is perhaps one of the factors that explain the *NYT*'s interest in densely covering news about the oil's producers in the region, mainly Libya which has been affected by the uprisings. Huliaras (2006) highlights some factors that influence the U.S. policy toward other countries especially the oil-rich ones, mainly the war on terror, and oil interests. In addition to the US clear interest in oil, the *NYT* used this theme in order to criticize the policies of other countries; for example in the Libyan co-text much criticism was directed to Italy and the UK due to their good relations with Qaddafi and their desires to win oil contracts in the Libyan state. During Qaddafi's presence in the Group of Eight economic conference in Rome, some voices in the *NYT* criticized different Western powers and leaders for courting Qaddafi, and described them as hungry for Libyan oil.

Chronologically investigating the use of oil in the Libyan co-text, I found that before the Libyan uprisings, Qaddafi is said to use the Libyan oil to have more influence in Africa, and manipulate the international community. In 2011, Libya was frequent in the co-text of oil as the Libyan uprising is considered as a good example of how turmoil and chaos can disrupt oil supply since Libya's oil output has halved since the outbreak of the protests (Ratner, 2011). In the post-Qaddafi era, some focus was on whether the rebel government will sign new oil contracts with new companies or honour the contracts struck by the Qaddafi regime. This suggests that oil was one of the main purposes of the international coalition's intervention in Libya. It also shows the strong interest of the West in oil and its redoubtable ability to blow up the world economy (Kumhof & Muir, 2014). Oil is also said to be one of the main reasons behind the US intervention in most of the conflicts areas in the Middle

East (Jones, 2012b) as this region has often provided the spark in oil prices' changes because it produces more than one-third of the world's oil (The Economist, 2011). Even the legitimacy of the international intervention in Libya which is supposed, according to R2P doctrine (Responsibility to Protect, 2005), to be humanitarian was a cover in the battle for oil (Castro, 2011). However, in the four investigated newspapers, the intervention of the international coalition in Libya was represented positively being humanitarian to save the lives of the Libyan 'innocent' civilians without linking it with the theme of oil. The situation in Libya is similar to Iraq's in 2003, where the Western power intervened allegedly to protect the region from Saddam Hussein's policies and his nuclear power. However, the ultimate goal was to take over the country's oil reserves (Klare, 2004; Lieberfeld, 2005 ). Therefore, it appears that the international intervention is seen in the majority of cases as war on resources rather than humanitarian intervention to protect innocent civilians.

The next sections provide an evaluation for the methodological combination, and comment on the used techniques/tools.

### **8.3. The methodological combination of CDA and CL**

The 'methodological synergy' between Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis has been used in this study. However, applying the combination is not as straightforward and easy as the word 'synergy' indicates. This might have happened because both fields have 'identity issues' (Gabrielatos & Duguid, 2015) i.e. whether they are theories or methods. Regarding applying the combination on two languages, the corpus linguistic techniques appeared to be more effective and efficient in English than Arabic not only due to the availability of some CL analytical software that better supports left to right languages, but also due to some characteristics related to the Arabic language such as the syntactic complexity and morphological richness as section 8.4 shows.

In terms of objectivity, one of the most critical and common issues in corpus assisted research is related to selecting what terms from the frequency, cluster, collocation, and keywords results to further investigate, i.e. why some terms rather than others were selected for analysis. For researchers, to increase transparency, some justifications are needed every time a decision is made. For example, in this study, when creating frequency lists, different

common and unique words were generated, and I justified my selection in most times based on the frequency/ saliency of the linguistic element, and its relevance to the investigated topic. I also excluded the words that occurred due to their high frequency in general corpora. In the same vein, when generating keyword lists, I avoided the keywords that occurred because of spelling differences or the newspaper's style, and analysed the ones that are statistically salient. However, when only one form of the word is selected, overgeneralisation must be avoided. This might happen in studies about *Islam* and *Muslims*, where the author only examines the use of the plural form of the noun *Muslim*, and concludes that *Islam*, *Muslim*, and *Muslims* were represented negatively although this might not be the case as he/she only investigated one form and ignored all about the other related forms. Gabrielatos and Duguid (2015) refer to this as confirmation bias which is the tendency of the analyst to only notice what confirms his hypothesis and beliefs, and ignore what contradicts them.

### **8.3.1. Some comments on the used techniques/tools**

#### **8.3.1.1. Frequency and Clusters**

In corpus driven studies where the researcher approaches the corpus from a relatively naïve position without pre-existing theories and assumptions, in so far as that is possible (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001), generating a frequency list might be an appropriate beginning. This works better if the corpus is specialized or even compiled from scratch though, for the researcher, to select a particular specialized corpus rather than another, or to compile his own corpus using some particular query terms rather than others implies that the sense of full naivety is never there. As discussed in chapter 4, the first step in the analysis was generating a frequency list for the three periods in the four newspapers, and examining the common words that occurred in the three periods, and the unique words that only occurred in a period and did not appear in another/others. This technique, which proved to be useful in uncovering some discourses, requires different sub-corpora within the same corpus to be applied. This is because a particular corpus or event should be taken as a milestone to enable the researcher to chronologically analyse how the representation of a particular phenomenon changed over time. In this thesis, 2011, the year when most of the uprisings began and ended, was taken as a milestone that separated the other two time periods. One disadvantage of using this technique is related to the possibility of having the same word in

different forms (adjective/noun/verbs) or cases (plural /singular) in the same lists. This might limit the number of the topics/themes to be investigated or discourses to be uncovered unless a lemma list is used. Furthermore, some high frequency words may reveal no or few ‘interesting’ results.

In this study, I also used cluster analysis and was able to uncover discourses related to the investigated topic although this technique is infrequently used in the previous research (see Bednarek, 2011; Partington & Morley, 2004). Regarding this technique, it seems that the larger the corpus, the more clusters are generated, and so the more useful the technique is.

#### **8.3.1.2. Collocation**

Collocation is one of the most common and useful techniques in the field. However, applying this technique in this research was not as easy as it appears. Looking only at the frequent collocates might not be useful in all cases, and so examining less frequent, but salient and statistically strong types might collectively contribute to revealing a different picture (Baker, 2004). Hence, when applying statistical tests, researchers should be aware that the absence of some terms in the collocation lists does not mean that they are not there at all, and the presence of some terms does not mean that the newspaper used them too frequently with the node word. For example, the noun *dictator* was a collocate with *Qaddafi* in period 1 in the *Guardian*, but when concordancing it, I found that it was used only 5 times. To control this, researchers might set a minimum frequency number for the collocates to be included in the list. In all cases in this thesis, the collocates should occur at least 5 times in the corpus to be further investigated.

When the collocation list is generated, the next step followed by different researchers was dividing the collocates into different thematic categories. On some occasions, the collocates might be used differently in the text itself, and so categorized incorrectly. It could be argued that the possibility for this is small because the thematic groups in most cases are general and broad. For example, a thematic category entitled “pro-government forces violence against civilians” might include the collocates *brutal*, *kill*, *died*, *bombed*, and *suppress*. However, the collocate “bomb” might be used in the corpus to refer to the international community’s bombing on Libyan cities or Qaddafi forces. Therefore, in some parts of this study, I divided the collocates based on their parts of speech (POS), and although this



helped in avoiding some of the drawbacks of the thematic categories, it also had some shortcomings. These include: the intersection of categories, i.e. the same word might belong to more than one part of speech as happened with *overthrow*. Furthermore, the same idea might be discussed in different POS categories; for example, instead of discussing all the collocates related to the demands of the rebels at once, I might have examples of this thematic category in different POS groups, and so the same idea might be repeated for several times.

### 8.3.1.3. Concordance

Since CDA favours a top down approach, and CL encourages bottom-up approach, this study takes a neutral position in the middle. Therefore, instead of interpreting the results based on only frequency or collocation, I carried out a thorough concordance analysis for the investigated terms, and went through all the concordance lines. This study found that going through all the concordance lines, and sometimes looking for counter examples for what was previously found are useful. Similarly, throughout this thesis, I realised that concordance analysis is important and useful with different techniques. For example, some collocates that occur within the regular 5 words range ( $\pm 5$ ) of the node word might be categorized incorrectly, simply because they do not reflect the actual and intended uses by the speaker as concordance 8.1 shows:

1	<b>Qaddafi</b> has a <b>strong</b> link with some British officials
2	The <b>diplomatic good</b> relationship between <b>Qaddafi</b> and Chavez
3	<b>Qaddafi</b> is an <b>excellent</b> example of brutal dictators
4	<b>Qaddafi</b> was never <b>gentle</b> and <b>nice</b> with his people

Concordance 8.1: Some collocates with Qaddafi that might result in erroneous conclusion

As shown in concordance 8.1, the words *strong*, *diplomatic*, *good*, *excellent*, *gentle*, and *nice* are collocates with *Qaddafi* although none of them is used to describe him, and so a detailed concordance analysis is required. However, with many collocates in the list, it can be difficult for the analysts to examine all of them carefully one by one. Accordingly, it is not enough to have some adjectives with negative connotations in the collocation list to say that the term is represented in a negative way. For example, the verb *succeed* which, in

general, has a positive connotation was one of the verbs that collocated with *Qaddafi* in period 1 to highlight that he succeeded in taking revenge from Switzerland after the arrest of his son by obliging it to officially apologize on its “inappropriate” behaviour, and to show that for *Qaddafi* to be praised in the Arab summits, he should do his best to achieve the Palestinian reconciliation on the Libyan land, and then will be able to boast and say that he succeeded to achieve what others failed to do. Accordingly, the verb was used in a negative way with *Qaddafi* highlighting his revenge mentality, and his desire to show off. Therefore, if I did not carry out a concordance analysis for the word, an erroneous conclusion would be reached since the collocate’s particular function was used in an unexpected way (Baker & Levon, 2015).

#### 8.3.1.4. Keyword analysis

In this study, I used the keyword tool to compare the three investigated periods of the same language against each other. For this technique to be used effectively, different points might be taken into consideration. For example, the researcher should make sure that the compared corpora, i.e. the investigated and general, have the same variety of English or at least consistent spelling in order to avoid the ‘non-interesting’ keywords, i.e. the keywords that occur due to spelling differences. In this study, since the *Guardian* uses the British variety of English and the *NYT* follows the American variety of English, I got a good number of these non-interesting words such as *centre* vs. *center*, *defence* vs. *defense*, *organization* vs. *organisation*, and some others. Sometimes, the different spellings of the names of cities (*Sirte/Surt*), people (*Saif/Seif*), and groups (*Qaida/ Qaeda*) might affect the accuracy of the results. On some occasions, the difference is very slight, but enough to make the word a keyword as in the case of (*LSE/L.S.E*).

Similarly, in the Arabic corpus, although both newspapers use Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), they wrote some words differently as in the case of *Amrica* (أمريكا) in *Al-Khaleej*, and *Amerca* (أميركا) in *Asharq Al-Awsat*. It is noteworthy that both forms are correct, and could be easily understood by literate Arabic speakers. Also, due to the fact that nouns and adjectives in Arabic are declined according to number, gender, state, and case, some words such as *Libyans* were present in both keyword lists, once in the accusative case and another in the nominative case, and this contributed almost nothing to the differences between newspapers as will be shown in section 8.4.

### **8.3.2. Applying CDA approaches in corpus-assisted studies... Is it a real combination or does CL take the lion's share?**

This section raises some questions about the methodological synergy of CL and CDA such as to what extent the previous studies used the combination and whether the qualitative and quantitative types of analysis were distributed equally or not in those studies. Although a good number of studies which used the methodological synergy of CL and CDA included the clause “corpus based/driven (critical) discourse analysis of X” in their titles (see Baker et al., 2013b; Baker & McEnery, 2005; Grundmann & Krishnamurthy, 2010; Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012; Kandil, 2009; Kim, 2014; Lukač, 2011; Mulderrig, 2011), applying CDA approaches was not clear or at least did not take as much space as corpus linguistics did. This leads to asking whether having a CDA oriented or compatible investigated topic, i.e. discusses the relations between language, power, and society and using corpus linguistic tools/techniques to examine it are enough to describe the research as corpus based/driven CDA. If yes, does this underestimate the complexity of the synergy and interaction?, and is the combination of CDA and CL just achieved by including some CDA-relevant work within the CL analysis rather than adopting one of its particular frameworks, models, or approaches and applying it?

Throughout this study, some interesting findings were obtained from the corpus analysis. However, what to consider as a result also deserves further explanation. For example, frequency, collocation, and keywords reveal descriptive findings with no interpretation, critique, or explanation. Therefore, it is not enough to say that X was represented negatively somewhere at a particular time of history and positively somewhere else or at the same place at another point in history. Such an approach is often called an ‘under-analysis through summary’ (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2003). To avoid this, researchers should interpret their findings based on theory, and consider the wider political, social, cultural and historical contexts beyond the corpus. Descriptive findings are not to be automatically dismissed, however, since they add to the validity and reliability of what the researchers hypothesized or assumed at the beginning of their studies on the one hand, and confirm the expectations of the people who have good knowledge about the society that the texts come from on the other hand. However, they are still in both cases considered as ‘so what’ findings which are good in terms of validity, but with less value since they rarely

uncover some new aspects i.e. they uncover in most cases unsurprising and already known aspects.

Based on what was mentioned earlier, one might ask whether the researchers who carry out corpus assisted discourse studies should be more selective on what to include and foreground in their reports, i.e. choosing the findings that are surprising and less known by people to motivate them to read their studies. If that was the case, would it affect their objectivity and lead them to be subjective? The question of importance is also raised here, i.e. which is more important for the researcher ‘validity’ or ‘value’?, and whether researchers should care more about having interesting results or focus more on verifying the validity of some previous assumptions that might be known by a lot of people or at least the ones interested in the investigated matter. For example, which is more important in this study to say that, based on the collocation analysis, *Megrahi* was rarely represented in a negative way, or search for any negative example even if it was mentioned for one time, and claim that *Megrahi* was described as ‘cruel and merciless terrorist’ in X newspapers without referring to how he was described in the majority of cases.

Throughout this study, it was also observed that CL analytical software are useful even for the researchers who depend on cherry pickings and use a limited number of articles as they ease/ facilitate the process of selecting the examples. In other words, instead of spending hours in going through all the data to look for the examples in which the investigated term is used, concordancers can do task instantly. However, does this happen with even corpus linguists? Is corpus linguistics a cherry picking of a different way? Even when following Hunston’s way mentioned above of randomly selecting concordance lines (Hunston, 2002), if the researcher did not get what he wants, he will keep examining concordance lines until he finds some ‘interesting’ results that suit his hypotheses. However, in spite all of these points and few others, subjectivity is controlled in corpus linguistics, or at least can be justified by researchers.

#### **8.4. The Arabic language and Corpus based/driven discourse studies**

Although the combination between CL and CDA has developed rapidly, it is rare to find studies that applied the combination on texts that are written in Arabic (see Kandil, 2009 as

an example). Throughout the analysis of the Arabic corpus in this study, I faced some challenges that are mainly related to the structure, morphology, writing style, spelling, and other fields of the Arabic language. It might be observed throughout the analysis that the Arabic newspapers were not analyzed to the same extent as the English ones; often there is less analysis of the Arabic corpus compared to the amount of analysis of the English corpus, and these challenges contributed to this. In Arabic, nouns and adjectives are declined according to number (singular, dual or plural), case (accusative, genitive, and nominative), state (indefinite, definite or construct), and gender (feminine or masculine). Accordingly, the same English word, let's say the adjective *Libyan*, might have more than 15 forms in Arabic as shown in table 8.2.

Table 8.2: The Arabic forms for the English adjective *Libyan*

Different Arabic forms for the same English adjective ( <i>Libyan</i> )							
Adjective	ليبي	ليبية	الليبي	الليبية	ليبيون	ليبيين	الليبيون
Description	singular Masculine indefinite	singular feminine indefinite	singular Masculine definite	singular feminine definite	plural Masculine indefinite nominative	plural Masculine indefinite accusative	plural Masculine definite nominative
Adjective	الليبيين	ليبيات	الليبيات	ليبيان	الليبيان	ليبيين	الليبيين
Description	plural Masculine definite accusative	plural feminine indefinite	plural feminine definite	dual Masculine indefinite nominative	dual Masculine definite nominative	dual Masculine indefinite accusative	dual Masculine definite accusative
Adjective	ليبيتان	الليبيتان	ليبيتين	الليبيتين			
Description	dual feminine indefinite nominative	dual feminine definite nominative	dual feminine indefinite accusative	dual feminine definite accusative			

This morphological richness was challenging especially when I generated frequency lists (unique words analysis). For example, different adjectives and nouns occurred frequently in the same lists, but in different forms, and this has not contributed a lot to the overall analysis. It also explains why I looked at the most frequent 35 Arabic words rather than the 25 words as in the English corpus. In the same vein, when examining the common words that occurred across the three time periods, I was confused whether to deal with all of these forms as one word or not. At the end, each item was considered separately to check if different forms would uncover similar discourse prosodies or not. Therefore, in this study, the adjective *ليبي* (singular, masculine, and **indefinite**) for example should occur in the three time periods to be considered a common word, and if it occurred in 2 periods and the same adjective, but in the **definite** form occurred in the third period, it will be considered as a

unique word. This led to having some similar words in both the unique words lists and the common words lists on the one hand, and added to the difficulty of justifying which form to analyse on the other hand.

The same aspect also affected the keywords results where some of the word's forms were keywords in one of the newspapers, while some other forms for the same word appeared in the other newspaper's keywords list. Sometimes, this might lead to making further investigation especially if there is a gender difference although this, in Arabic, does not reflect only masculinity or femininity of humans but many other entities. For example, the nouns *force /forces* are feminine in Arabic, and so require a feminine adjective as in the cluster *القوات المسلحة الليبية* translated as the *Libyan armed forces*. Moreover, having adjectives in accusative, genitive, or nominative forms might reveal almost nothing about the connotation of the word as the whole matter is related to the position of the noun that the adjective describes as tables 8.3 shows.

Table 8.3: Arabic case system

Arabic case System		
Case	Arabic	Translation
Nominative	الثوار الليبيون البواسل حمو ليبيا من القذافي	Brave <b>Libyan rebels</b> protected Libya from Qaddafi
Genitive	مقابلة مع الثوار اللبيين البواسل	An interview with the brave <b>Libyan rebels</b>
Accusative	هنا المجلس الانتقالي الليبي الثوار اللبيين البواسل	The Libyan Transitional Council congratulated the brave <b>Libyan rebels</b>

In Arabic, creating dispersion plots for a particular term may be time consuming. For example, in English, it took me few seconds to prepare a dispersion plot for the plural noun *Libyans*, while I spent some time to do the same in Arabic as I first needed to search for the different forms of the plural noun *Libyans* before combining the incidents based on the month when they occurred across the five year time period, and finally having the plot ready. This also affected the accuracy of the results of the statistical tests, the strength of the collocates, and even the collocates themselves since CL analytical software treats these words differently and separately. For example, *اللبيين* *Libyans* (accusative) and *الليبيون* *Libyans* (nominative) had different collocates in the investigated corpus. Therefore, this affects the process of having accurate and (more) reliable lists at least when compared with English. In order to help solving this problem, preparing a list of Arabic lemma before generating the different frequency, cluster, collocation, and keyword lists might be a good

step in the right direction. A lemma is the canonical form of a word and is defined as a “set of lexical forms having the same stem and belonging to the same major word class, differing only in inflection and/or spelling” (Francis, Kučera, & Mackie, 1982, p. 1). The Arabic trilateral root لعب *play*, for example, consists of the concrete plural/singular noun lexemes of لاعب *player* (singular masculine), لاعبين *players* (plural, masculine, accusative), لاعبون *players* (plural, masculine, nominative), لاعبة *player* (singular, feminine), and لاعبات *players* (plural, feminine). Therefore, and although looking for the frequency of a particular LEMMA is more difficult in Arabic than it is in English, it is a good choice to begin with. As I mentioned in chapter 4, the focus in this study was on the word forms rather than lemmas. In English, I could find different lemma lists; for example, the one created by Laurence Anthony based on all words in the BNC corpus. However, despite my lengthy investigation, I could not locate a full Arabic lemma list except for the holy Quran, and the complexity of the Arabic language inflections means that the creation of one from scratch is quite challenging, and perhaps needs a group of researchers. I did not use the lemmatized list of the Quran, simply because the language of the Holy Quran is considered to be classical Arabic, which differs from the modern standard Arabic in use today.

Another challenge a researcher might face while working on an Arabic corpus is related to the fact that some particles in Arabic are attached to the words such as the connectives *و/ف* *and*, some prepositions such as *ك* *like*, the particle of the future *س* *will*, and some conjunctions and pronouns. For example, in collocation, *وايران* *and Iran* is treated differently from *ايران* *Iran* as the software classifies them as completely different words although they are identical, except that the connective *و* *and* is attached to the first word. In the same vein, it was not easy to look for the phrases, words or clauses linked to each other using *and* as in (Libya and X) since the connective is in the majority of cases attached to the next word. It was also not easy to search for the words that are written in inclusive language in Arabic, as pronouns could be attached directly to verbs and nouns as shown in example 8.1 below:

**e.g. 8.1:**

*نحن* = *pronoun* = (we)

*نستطيع* = *verb* = (we can)

*نحن نستطيع* = *clause* = (we) the pronoun written separately + (we can) the pronoun & the verb written together

This feature in Arabic also affected the results of the different techniques and instead of having one past form for verbs as in English, researchers might have more than 20 forms due to the attachments of different pronouns and particles with the verb. This also adds to the difficulties of creating accurate statistical tests' results, findings, dispersion plots and others. It is not also easy to have accurate word count or frequency list in Arabic when compared to some other languages such as English. For example, the plural noun *Libyans* will not only have some forms based on case, gender, and state as table 8.2 shows, but also many others as many particles can be added to each of these forms.

Another challenge is related to the definiteness of the Arabic content words as the Arabic definite article *al*, translated as *the*, is attached to nouns and adjectives. In English, since the definite and indefinite articles are not attached to the noun, the word will appear just in one form in the list. For example, if there were two sentences like “I visited **the city** where my father was born” and “I really like **city** life”, the frequency of the word *city* will be 2 though one of them is definite and the other is indefinite. However, in Arabic, the two forms will be counted as 2 different words, and this supports the idea that what counts as words is different across languages. In this study, when I, for example, created a cluster list for the word *summit* in the English corpus, the process was easy and straightforward. However, in Arabic, I had first to decide which form to investigate the definite or indefinite, and even after doing so and justifying it, the results were not completely accurate. For example, I selected the definite form of the word *القمة* *the summit* and generated a cluster list for it as table 8.4:

Table 8.4: A cluster analysis for the word *القمة* *the summit* in Al-Khaleej in period 1

A cluster analysis for <i>القمة</i> <i>the summit</i> in Al-Khaleej in period 1	
Translation	Cluster
Arab Summit	القمة العربية
African Summit	القمة الإفريقية
Extraordinary Arab Summit	القمة العربية الاستثنائية
2nd Arab-African Summit	القمة العربية الإفريقية الثانية
Chairman of the Arab Summit	رئيس القمة العربية

The frequency of the cluster *the Arab Summit* is 654. However, this number does not reflect the actual number for this cluster in the corpus as the same cluster was repeated in different



forms, mainly because different particles were attached with the definite form of the word *القمة* *the summit* as in *بالقمة العربية* *in the Arab summit*, *للقمة العربية* *for the Arab summit* and few others.

Researchers might also face another challenge while working on the Arabic corpus related to the Arabic orthography since the same word in Arabic might be written with slightly different spelling as in the case of *ايران* and *إيران* translated as *Iran*. This is mainly because people in most cases, even in the formal setting such as books and newspapers, do not write the Hamza (ء), a letter in the Arabic alphabet for the glottal stop [ʔ]. This does not affect the meaning of the word, and still anyone who has little Arabic knowledge can tell that there are no differences between the two forms. Similarly, some people also, even in formal written texts, do not put dots above or under the letter as in the case of *روسية/روسية* *Russian* or *في لبنان* *in Lebanon*. In addition to this, some words in Arabic might be written in different ways as in the case of *سورية/سوريا* *Syria* with no differences in meaning. Sometimes, the difference is related to the newspaper's special style of writing. For example, the word *America* was written in *Asharq Al-Awsat* as *أميركا* *Amerca* and in *Al-Khaleej* as *أمريكا* *Amrica*, and this is why the word in its different forms appeared in both newspapers' keywords lists. These aspects are important in Arabic corpus assisted studies although, as mentioned above, almost all literate Arabic speakers can distinguish the two forms, and identify them as one word with no efforts or difficulties. However, it is difficult for the computers or CL analytical software to identify such aspects, and this might also affect the accuracy of the statistical measures where the software will treat *روسية/روسية* *Russian*, with and without dots, as completely two different words although they are identical, except that the typist did not put dots above the last letter of one of them. This might also be applicable when creating keywords or collocations lists where the same word might be classified as a positive and negative keyword at the same time.

Another challenge is related to the semantic richness of the Arabic language, i.e. the same word might have several meanings, for example the Arabic word *نظام* might be translated as *regime*, *system*, *order*, *arrangement*, *regulation* and others, and so for example when concordancing the word to see how the different ruling regimes were described, I got some irrelevant examples such as *ليستعيد النظام* "to restore order", *هذا النظام نادر وفريد من نوعه* "this system is rarely unique", and so on. The same challenge happened when generating

frequency lists where some words were frequent simply because they have different meanings such as العام which means *general* as in المدير العام “the general director”, and year as in العام الفائت “the last year”. The last challenge is related to the Arabic diacritics, small marks placed above or below Arabic letters, which are omitted, in the majority of cases, from Arabic texts except in special cases such as religious texts, children’s books, and language learning material (Zbib & Soudi, 2012). Such absence of diacritics leads to lexical ambiguity since two, three, or four words can share the same non-diacritized spelling, but have different, and sometimes unrelated meanings. For example, the frequent word صدام might refer to the name of the former Iraqi president *Saddam Hussein*, and so should be written as صَدَّام or could mean *clash* and be written as صِدَام. All of these aspects prove that carrying out corpus-assisted research in Arabic is not as easy and straightforward as it is in English.

## 8.5. Implications, Recommendations, and Future Research

This study used a particular type of data (newspaper texts), in two languages (Arabic and English), within a defined timeframe (2009-2013), geographical context (Libya and the Arab world), and theoretical and methodological framework (CDA and CL) to answer particular research questions. Therefore, there are bound to be limitations. Before the concluding remarks of this study, I reflect on some points as the limitations and recommendations of this thesis.

While investigating huge corpora, researchers should focus on some particular areas, and a limited number of research questions, otherwise they will be probably lost. They should not try to dive too deep in the corpus data because the more they dive, the more they discover that they are swimming in an ocean rather than a river or pool. In other words, investigating a large corpus of millions of words is like fishing in an ocean; if the fisherman tried to catch all types of creatures in that ocean, he would go home almost empty-handed as he will just keep moving from one area to another without getting many things. However, if he put all of his efforts to fish in a particular area of that ocean and spent his time there, he would go home with full baskets. The same is applicable for a CL researcher; if he tried to uncover every single aspect in the corpus, he would feel lost and get almost nothing. However, if he

concentrates on particular areas, there is a higher likelihood that he will come up with some interesting findings.

Both CL and CDA are not free from pitfalls and shortcomings. For example, CL is good at having valid and generalizable findings though might be already known. Conversely, CDA is good at having valuable and interesting findings though not valid or generalizable beyond the considered smaller dataset. Gabrielatos and Duguid (2015) suggest that the way forward in the combination is threefold. First, better awareness of relevant concepts and techniques in the two approaches is needed and should be developed as both fields are relatively new (late 70s /early 80s). Second, researchers should reject the polar distinctions between objective and subjective analysis, and qualitative and quantitative approaches because it is misleading. Third, more collaboration between CDA and CL researchers is needed. The last point might be partly achieved by asking two groups of researchers; CDA oriented and CL oriented to analyse the same set of data and check whether their findings are convergent, complementary and dissonant (see Baker & Levon, 2015; Marchi & Taylor, 2009). In this study, the compiled corpus, research questions, and objectives might be given to other researchers who are mainly interested in CDA, and then compare their results with the findings of this research.

Spending a good amount of time in investigating the historical, political, social, religious, and cultural background of the investigated topic is of a great importance. Similarly, examining a large number of expanded concordance lines is also helpful in getting some other useful contextual information as indicated by (Baker et al., 2008). Even the concordance lines might reveal some information about how certain words are written in a particular newspaper. For example, when examining how the *LSE* was referred to in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*, I could not find any incidents for the acronym in the *NYT*, and so only looked at the full name of the university, i.e. *London School of Economics*. However, when carrying out a concordance analysis for it, I found that the acronym is written as *L.S.E*, and could get some more concordance lines to investigate.

This study used different corpus linguistic techniques to answer the research questions, and this was useful in two aspects. First, verifying the findings obtained using a particular technique, and second, uncovering some new discourses or themes that were not realized in

other techniques. For example, in period 1 in the *Guardian*, the keyword analysis confirmed the results of the frequency analysis where the newspaper gave more space to Megrahi's release than any other issues. In period 2, the frequency analysis indicated nothing about the *LSE* case with Saif Islam; however, *LSE* and *London* were keywords in the *Guardian*, and so were further investigated.

When carrying out research, a decision should be taken on what to analyze. In this study, I focused on a number of collocates and keywords that are statistically salient. One of the limitations of this is that highly frequent collocates/keywords may be overlooked, and go unnoticed. At the early stages of my research, I gave much attention to the most frequent collocates. However, this led to having, in most cases, similar collocates in both Arabic and English newspapers. In the case of *Megrahi* for example, the collocates of the newspapers were similar, and this was not very helpful in uncovering many discursive aspects about *Megrahi* and *Lockerbie* on the one hand, and picking up the differences between the newspapers' coverage of this issue, on the other one. So, looking only at the frequent collocates might be good at reflecting some general information about the investigated issue. In addition to this, I was fully aware that the absence of some terms in the collocation lists does not mean that they are not there at all, and the presence of some terms does not mean that the newspaper used them too frequently with the node word. It is also worth noting that taking such a decision to analyze salient words does not mean that they are not frequent; they might be frequent as well, and this depends on the used statistical measure.

In addition to the thematic categorisation of collocates and keywords, and to achieve more objectivity in the process of classification, researchers might try to use the part of speech (POS) categorisation as it proved to be useful in this study. Regarding the keyword analysis, it was found in this study that even if some terms were keywords in one newspaper rather than another, this would not mean that they were used differently in both texts. However, the whole matter might be just related to the space dedicated in a particular newspaper for one issue rather than another. The keyword analysis in this study was achieved by comparing the newspapers of the same language against each other, and was useful in uncovering some discourse practices. However, other researchers might compare the four newspapers against general English and Arabic corpora to check whether the results will be too different or not.

Some Arabic proper nouns especially the ones that contain the Arabic definite article (al) were written differently in the *Guardian* and the *NYT*. For example, *Al-Megrahi* was written in some cases as *Megrahi*, and *El-Qaddafi* and *Al-Qaddafi* as *Qaddafi*. Therefore, when generating a collocation list, the CL analytical software will treat each term separately, and the results would be inaccurate. To get rid of this, the researcher might use the find/replace function to keep one consistent form, or use one of Wordsmith (WS6) features of allowing/separating apostrophes or hyphens within/from words (this way is followed in this study). Another good way is using a lemma list where the different forms of the word are categorized under a head word and are treated by the CL software as one.

As shown in chapter four, the corpora of this study are well-compiled, annotated, marked up, and available in different forms. The two corpora will be available for the public use. The syntactically tagged corpora can be used by other researchers (syntacticians for example) to carry out corpus studies on Arabic and English texts. Also, discourse analysts can use the marked-up corpora to examine the editorial parts, letters to the editors, and comments and debate sections as these parts can tell more about the newspaper's agenda than the news reporting sections. This study also recommends compiling several Arabic corpora, and improving some free CL analytical software which support right to left languages.

The used corpus in this study was compiled using some query terms, and so has some limitations in uncovering discourses and making claims about some general issues, such as how all the Arab regimes or the era of the Arab Spring uprisings in general are represented in the four newspapers. This explains why some research questions, namely 3 and 5 have the statement “*in articles that contain at least one mention of either Libya\*, Qaddafi, Tripoli, Benghazi, and Sirt*”. Building new comparable corpora about this era might uncover new discourses, and create more generalisable results.

As this study only looked at two Arabic newspapers, and two English newspapers, it is recommended for future research to increase the number of newspapers. This may be accompanied by selecting some countries other than the ones investigated in this study. For example, looking at some Libyan newspapers, Egyptian newspapers, and French

newspapers can provide a broader view about the investigated phenomenon and how language can be affected by governmental policies. Since this study only looked at newspapers' texts, future studies may examine other media outlets such as radio or TV news channels. Another interesting way to broaden the analysis would be including some media outlets published in English, and located in one of the Arab countries. This would give the researchers the opportunity to check the influence of not only the political context of where the media organisation operates on the type of coverage, but also combine it with the influence of language and audience on that bearing in mind that the audience for English-language media outlets based in Arab countries is different to the audience for Arabic media outlets in these countries as they are more likely to be read/watched by the educated elite.

## **8.6. Final Remarks**

In 2011, an unexpected event happened in the Arab region, and attracted the attention of not only the Arab citizens and regimes, but also the whole world. The whole story began in Tunisia when a street vendor set himself on fire inspiring a wide range of the Tunisian society to protest against the 'autocratic' and 'tyrannical' regime that ruled the country for almost 23 years. Being an Arab person, I was eagerly watching/reading what is happening via the national/international TV channels and newspapers, and enthusiastically observed the embarrassing situation that the mass media put themselves in. They appeared to be trying to have a balance between their long-term loyalties to the ruling regimes in the Arab World on the one hand, and their striving to achieve some of their career's standards and values, on the other hand. Moreover, I observed that the majority of media outlets reported the news from different angles based on who is controlling the situation. They appeared to be taking the side of the ruling regimes at the beginning of the uprisings, before shifting to support the rebels at later stages especially after they succeeded in removing long standing regimes in the region.

This study was an attempt to uncover some of the media techniques, draw the readers' attention to read between the lines, and highlight the important role that language plays in forming people's opinions regarding specific issues. Throughout the corpus analysis, media appeared to be a powerful tool used by the elites and authorities in order to control the masses, shape their minds and influence their attitudes. The analysis of the four Arabic and English newspapers showed that there is a wide range of discursive construction for the

event based on the agenda of the investigated newspapers and its effect on their interests. Such different perspectives are likely to shape national and even global opinions on how to view certain aspects. For example, the international intervention in Libya was justified, while it was problematic in Syria although the situation in both countries was similar, and even more cruel and violent in Syria than it was in Libya.

I cannot judge whether my interpretation here is right or not since the texts' producers and receivers might have different interpretations and explanations to the same set of data based on their background information. However, it is the readers' role to judge whether my interpretation is plausible and adequate or not. Wodak and Ludwig (1999) pointed out that "THE RIGHT interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible or adequate, but they cannot be true" (p. 12). Regarding the methodological synergy of CL and CDA, researchers might take into consideration while analysing their data that the obtained results will not directly provide them with the discourses behind the text, and so it is their role to consult other resources to be able to show the existence of such discourses. This study has also raised some challenges related to the degree of accuracy when carrying out Arabic corpus-assisted studies, encouraging both computational linguists and Arabic linguists to find solutions to these challenges.

# References

- AbdelRaouf, A., Higgins, C. A., Pridmore, T., & Khalil, M. (2010). Building a multi-modal Arabic corpus (MMAC). *International Journal on Document Analysis and Recognition (IJ DAR)*, 13(4), 285-302.
- Abouzeid, R. (2011). Bouazizi: The Man Who Set Himself and Tunisia on Fire, *Time*. Retrieved from <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,2044723,00.html>
- Abu Hatab, W. (2013). *Arab Spring Presidential Speeches and New Social Identities: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study*. Paper presented at the The European Conference on Arts & Humanities.
- Abuhakema, G., Faraj, R., Feldman, A., & Fitzpatrick, E. (2008). *Annotating an Arabic Learner Corpus for Error*. Paper presented at the LREC.
- Acheboune, A., & Driouchi, A. (2014). Unemployment Persistence, Risks of Skill Obsolescence, and Impacts on the Knowledge Economy in Arab Countries. In A. Driouchi (Ed.), *Knowledge-Based Economic Policy Development in the Arab World* (pp. 273-291). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Aday, S., Farrell, H., Lynch, M., Sides, J., & Freelon, D. (2012). *New media and conflict after the Arab spring*: Washington: United States Institute of Peace.
- Adelaja, O. (2013). The Impact of Social Media on the Social, Political and Economic Environments in Africa. In A. A. Olorunnisola (Ed.), *New Media Influence on Social and Political Change in Africa* (pp. 319-335): IGI Global.
- AhramOnline. (2011). Seif Al-Islam Gaddafi: "I am still alive", *AhramOnline*,. Retrieved from <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/24913.aspx>
- Aissa, E. H. (2012). *The Arab Spring: Causes, Consequences, and Implications*. Army Carlisle Barracks, Pa.: War College.
- Akbarzadeh, S., & Smith, B. (2005). *The Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media (the Age and Herald Sun)*. Melbourne: School of Political and Social Enquiry, Monash University.
- Al-Abed Al-Haq, F., & Hussein, A. (2012). The Slogans of the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions: A Sociolinguistic Study. *Issues in Political Discourse Analysis*, 4(1), 39-58.
- Al-Ali, N. (2012). Gendering the Arab spring. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, 5(1), 26-31. doi: 10.1163/187398612X624346
- Al-Anani, K. (2012). Islamist Parties Post-Arab Spring. *Mediterranean Politics*, 17(3), 466-472. doi: 10.1080/13629395.2012.725309
- Al-Jaber, K., & Gunter, B. (2013). News Developments and Changes to News Consumption Patterns in the Arab World. In B. Gunter & R. Dickinson (Eds.), *News Media in the Arab World: A Study of 10 Arab and Muslim Countries* (pp. 135-152). New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Al-Sulaiti, L., & Atwell, E. S. (2006). The design of a corpus of contemporary Arabic. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 11(2), 135-171.
- Al-Zidjaly, N. (2011). From Oman, With Love. , *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08al-zidjaly.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08al-zidjaly.html?_r=0)
- Al Masaeed, K. (2013). Egyptian Revolution of 2011 and the Power of Its Slogans: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 9(6), 1-6.
- Al Nahed, S. (2015). Covering Libya: A Framing Analysis of Al Jazeera and BBC Coverage of the 2011 Libyan Uprising and NATO Intervention. *Middle East Critique*, 24(3), 251-267. doi: 10.1080/19436149.2015.1050784
- Alalawi, N. (2015). How Media Covered “Arab Spring” Movement: Comparison between the American Fox NEWS and the Middle Eastern Al Jazeera. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 11(10), 44-49.
- Alansary, S., Nagi, M., & Adly, N. (2007). *Building an international corpus of Arabic (ICA): Progress of compilation stage*. Paper presented at the 7th international conference on language engineering, Cairo, Egypt.



- Albright, D., & Hinderstein, C. (2005). Unraveling the AQ Khan and future proliferation networks. *WASHINGTON QUARTERLY*, 28(2), 109-128.
- Alfaifi, A., & Atwell, E. (2013a). *Arabic learner corpus v1: A new resource for arabic language research*. Paper presented at the the Second Workshop on Arabic Corpus Linguistics (WACL-2), Lancaster University, UK.
- Alfaifi, A., & Atwell, E. (2013b). *Potential uses of the Arabic Learner Corpus*. Paper presented at the The Leeds Language, Linguistics and Translation PGR Conference 2013, Leeds, UK.
- AlJazeera. (2011a). Gaddafi son offers Libya elections, *AlJazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/06/201161613564341905.html>
- AlJazeera. (2011b). Libyan rebels form 'interim government', *AlJazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/03/2011322193944862310.html>
- AlJazeera. (2011c). Saif al-Islam Gaddafi arrested in Libya, *AlJazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/11/20111119111936535209.html>
- AlJazeera. (2011d). Yemen's Saleh agrees to transfer power, *Aljazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/11/2011112355040101606.html>
- AlJazeera. (2013). Timeline: Arab Spring, *Al-Jazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2013/12/timeline-arab-spring-20131217114018534352.html>
- Arabiah, M., Al-Salman, A., & Atwell, E. (2013). *The design and construction of the 50 million words KSUCCA*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of WACL '2 Second Workshop on Arabic Corpus Linguistics.
- Alterman, J. B. (1998). *New Media, New Politics?* Washington Washington Institute for Near East Policy.
- Altschull, J. H. (1997). *Agents of power: The media and public policy*. New York: Longman.
- Amin, H. (2002). Freedom as a value in Arab media: Perceptions and attitudes among journalists. *Political Communication*, 19(2), 125-135.
- Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (2003). Discourse analysis means doing analysis: A critique of six analytic shortcomings. *Discourse Analysis Online*, 1(1).
- Asharq Al-Awsat. (2001). سيرة نجيب محفوظ الأدبية [Naguib Mahfouz's literary biography], *Asharq Al-Awsat*. Retrieved from <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?article=76975&issueno=8414#.V9ubTPi97IU>
- Asharq Al-Awsat. (2014). عن الكرة العربية في مواجهة بلجيكا اليوم الجزائر تحمل راية الدفاع [Algeria to defend the Arab football against Belgium today], *Asharq Al-Awsat*. Retrieved from <http://archive.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=1&article=775916&issueno=12985#.V9q-yPI97IU>
- Asser, M. (2011). The Muammar Gaddafi story, *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12688033>
- Babington, D. (2011). Libya rebels remake schools for Gaddafi-free thought, *Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/05/08/uk-libya-east-schools-idUKTRE7471NA20110508>
- Baker, P. (2004). Querying Keywords: Questions of Difference, Frequency, and Sense in Keywords Analysis. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 32(4), 346-359. doi: 10.1177/0075424204269894
- Baker, P. (2005). *Public discourses of gay men*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, P. (2006). *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Baker, P. (2010). *Sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Baker, P. (2012). Acceptable bias? Using corpus linguistics methods with critical discourse analysis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(3), 247-256. doi: 10.1080/17405904.2012.688297
- Baker, P. (2014). *Using corpora to analyze gender*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., Khosravini, M., Krzyżanowski, M., McNery, T., & Wodak, R. (2008). A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 19(3), 273-306. doi: 10.1177/0957926508088962
- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & McNery, T. (2013a). *Discourse analysis and media attitudes: the representation of Islam in the British press*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & McEnery, T. (2013b). Sketching muslims: A corpus driven analysis of representations around the word 'Muslim' in the British press 1998-2009. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(3), 255-278. doi: 10.1093/applin/ams048
- Baker, P., & Levon, E. (2015). Picking the right cherries? A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity. *Discourse and Communication*, 9(2), 221-236. doi: 10.1177/1750481314568542
- Baker, P., & McEnery, T. (2005). A corpus-based approach to discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in UN and newspaper texts. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 4(2), 197-197. doi: 10.1075/jlp.4.2.04bak
- Baker, P., & McEnery, T. (2015). Introduction. In P. Baker & T. McEnery (Eds.), *Corpora and discourse studies: integrating discourse and corpora* (pp. 1-19). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ball, C. N. (1994). Automated text analysis: Cautionary tales. *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 9(4), 295-302. doi: 10.1093/lc/9.4.295
- Bardici, M. (2012). *A Discourse Analysis of the Media Representation of Social Media for Social Change - The Case of Egyptian Revolution and Political Change*. (Master Thesis), Malmö University, Sweden.
- Barletta Manjarrés, N. (2007). Critical discourse analysis: a review of the critique. *Lenguaje*, 35(1), 219-242.
- Bassiouni, M. C. (2012). *Introduction to international criminal law*. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Baum, M. A., & Groeling, T. (2010). *War stories: The causes and consequences of citizen views of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Baum, M. A., & Zhukov, Y. M. (2015). Filtering revolution: Reporting bias in international newspaper coverage of the Libyan civil war. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(3), 384-400. doi: 10.1177/0022343314554791
- Bayat, A. (2013). The Arab Spring and its surprises. *Development and Change*, 44(3), 587-601.
- Bayley, P., & Williams, G. (2012). *European identity: What the media say*. Oxford Oxford University Press.
- Bayram, F. (2010). Ideology and political discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's political speech. *Arecls*, 7, 23-40.
- BBC. (2009). Gunmen shoot Sri Lanka cricketers, *BBC*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/7920260.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7920260.stm)
- BBC News. (2009). Country Profile: Saudi Arabia. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/country\\_profiles/791936.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/country_profiles/791936.stm).
- BBC News. (2011a). Libya: US, UK and France attack Gaddafi forces, *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12796972>
- BBC News. (2011b). Profile: Khamis Gaddafi, *BBC News*. Retrieved from [https://www.google.co.nz/?gfe\\_rd=cr&ei=N-4JVramCcPu8wfxn4GIAw&gws\\_rd=ssl#q=the+bbc+](https://www.google.co.nz/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=N-4JVramCcPu8wfxn4GIAw&gws_rd=ssl#q=the+bbc+)
- BBC News. (2016). Libya country profile, *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13754897>
- Bebawi, S. (2015). *Investigative Journalism in the Arab World: Issues and Challenges*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Beck, M., & Hüser, S. (2012). *Political Change in the Middle East: An Attempt to Analyze the 'Arab Spring'*. GIGA Working Paper No. 203. Retrieved from [http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/content/publikationen/pdf/wp203\\_beck-hueser.pdf](http://www.giga-hamburg.de/dl/download.php?d=/content/publikationen/pdf/wp203_beck-hueser.pdf)
- Bednarek, M. (2008). "What the hell is wrong with you?" A corpus perspective on evaluation and emotion in contemporary American pop culture. In A. Mahboob & N. Knight (Eds.), *Questioning Linguistics* (pp. 95-126). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Bednarek, M. (2011). The stability of the televisual character: A corpus stylistic case study. In R. Piazza, Monika Bednarek, and Fabio Rossi (Ed.), *Telecinematic discourse: Approaches to the language of films and television series* (pp. 185-204). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

- Bednarek, M. (2016). Voices and values in the news: News media talk, news values and attribution. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 11, 27-37.
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012). *News discourse*. London: Continuum.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Biber, D., Conrad, S., & Reppen, R. (1998). *Corpus linguistics: investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Biber, D., & Finegan, E. (1991). On the exploitation of computerized corpora in variation studies. In A. K. a. A. B. (Ed.), *English corpus linguistics* (pp. 204-220 ). London: Longman.
- Billig, M. (2002). Critical discourse analysis and the rhetoric of critique. In G. Weiss & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Critical discourse analysis: Theory and interdisciplinarity* (pp. 35-46). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Black, C. R. (2003). Muammar Qaddafi and Libya's Strategic Culture. In B. R. Schneider, and Jerrold M. Post (Ed.), *Know Thy Enemy: Profiles of Adversary Leaders and Their Strategic Cultures* (pp. 247-270). Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. : Air War College.
- Blake, A. (2014). Ranking the media from liberal to conservative, based on their audiences, *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2014/10/21/lets-rank-the-media-from-liberal-to-conservative-based-on-their-audiences/>
- Blanchard, C. M. (2008). Libya: Background and US Relations. CRS Report for Congress, Washington DC: Congressional Research Service.
- Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.
- Bloor, M., & Bloor, T. (2007). *The practice of critical discourse analysis: An introduction*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Boyd, D. A. (2001). Saudi Arabia's international media strategy: Influence through multinational ownership. In K. Hafez (Ed.), *Mass media, politics and society in the Middle East* (pp. 43-60). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton.
- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics*, 21(4), 493-525. doi: 10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre
- Breheny, R. (2003). On the dynamic turn in the study of meaning and interpretation. In P. J (Ed.), *Meaning: The dynamic turn* (Vol. 12, pp. 69-89). Dordrecht: Elsevier.
- British Petroleum Company. (2010). BP statistical review of world energy. London: British Petroleum Co.
- Brown, G., & Yule, G. (1982). *Discourse Analysis* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Buchan, G. (2002). Nuclear Weapons and US National Security Strategy for a New Century. *RAND-PUBLICATIONS-MR-ALL SERIES-*, 225-273.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Campbell, H. A., & Hawk, D. (2012). Al Jazeera's Framing of Social Media During the Arab Spring. *CyberOrient*, 6(1).
- Carpentier, N. (2005). Identity, contingency and rigidity The (counter-) hegemonic constructions of the identity of the media professional. *Journalism*, 6(2), 199-219.
- Castro, J. E. (2011). Gaddafi and Latin America. *Society*, 48(4), 307-311.
- Cavatorta, F. (2012). Arab Spring: The Awakening of Civil Society. A General Overview. In European Institute of the Mediterranean (Ed.), *IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook* (pp. 75-81).
- Chaaban, J. (2010). Job creation in the Arab economies: Navigating through difficult waters: United Nations Development Programme, Regional Bureau for Arab States Report, Research Paper Series 2010.
- Chilton, P. A., Il'inskiĭ, M. M. I., & Mey, J. (1998). *Political discourse in transition in Europe, 1989-1991*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Pub.
- Chilton, P. A., & Schäffner, C. (2002). *Politics as text and talk: analytic approaches to political discourse*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Chorin, E. D. (2012). *Exit the Colonel: The hidden history of the Libyan revolution*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Chouliaraki, L. (1998). Regulation in 'progressivist' pedagogic discourse: individualized teacher-pupil talk. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 9(1), 5-32. doi: 10.1177/0957926598009001001

- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (1999). *Discourse in late modernity: rethinking critical discourse analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Chowdhury, G. (2004). *Introduction to modern information retrieval*. London: Facet Publishing.
- Chubin, S. (2012). Iran and the Arab Spring: Ascendancy Frustrated *GRC Gulf Papers*.
- Cohen, R. (2011). Libyan Closure, *The NYT*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08iht-edcohen08.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08iht-edcohen08.html?_r=0)
- ComScore Data Mine. (2012). Most Read Online Newspapers in the World: Mail Online, New York Times and The Guardian. Retrieved from <http://www.comscore.com/Insights/Data-Mine/Most-Read-Online-Newspapers-in-the-World-Mail-Online-New-York-Times-and-The-Guardian>
- Cook, M. (2011). *guardian.co.uk: online participation, 'agonism' and 'mutualisation'*. (Master Thesis), London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE").
- Cooper, Z. L. (2008). *Changing Demographics in Latvia by Changing Ethnic Law*. (Master Thesis), University of Kansas.
- Copeland, D. A. (2003). *Newspapers in the Americas*. London: Praeger Publishers.
- Cottle, S. (2011). Media and the Arab uprisings of 2011: Research notes. *Journalism*, 12(5), 647-659. doi: 10.1177/1464884911410017
- Cristiani, D. (2014). UK Libya: The Consistency of Being Selective. *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale (ISPI). ISPI Analysis, ISPI Analysis, n.238*.
- Cushion, S. (2012). *The democratic value of news: Why public service media matter*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dacrema, E. (2013). New emerging balances in the post-Arab Spring: the Muslim Brotherhood and the Gulf monarchies. *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale Analysis*(155).
- Dağtaş, B. (2013). Constructing the "Arab Spring": News discourses in Turkish newspapers. *Global Media Journal, Canadian Edition*, 6(2), 19-33.
- Daily Mail. (2011). Gaddafi's glamorous blonde lawyer daughter joins soldiers on the front line, *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1371426/Libya-Gaddafis-glamorous-blonde-lawyer-daughter-Aisha-joins-soldiers-line.html#ixzz3oPnit43S>
- Davis, J. K., & Pfaltzgraff, R. L. (2013). *Anticipating a Nuclear Iran: Challenges for US Security*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Delgado, M., & Gye, H. (2011). Dishevelled and smeared in sand, new pictures show moment Gaddafi's playboy son Saif was captured by rebels, *Mail Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2063561/Gaddafis-son-Saif-Al-Islam-captured-quizzed-Blair-Mandelson-Prince-Andrew.html>
- Ditters, E. (1990). *Arabic Corpus Linguistics in Past and Present*. Paper presented at the Studies in the history of Arabic grammar II: proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on the History of Arabic Grammar, Nijmegen, 27 April-1 May 1987.
- Diwan, K. S. (2015). The future of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Gulf, *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/02/10/the-future-of-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-the-gulf/>
- Dodge, T. (2012). "From the 'Arab Awakening' to the Arab Spring; the Post-Colonial State in the Middle East". *After the Arab Spring: Power Shift in the Middle East*, 5-11.
- Doherty, F., & McClintock, M. (2002). *A year of loss: Reexamining civil liberties since September 11*. New York: Lawyers Committee for Human Rights.
- Domingo, D. (2008). Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: dealing with an uncomfortable myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(3), 680-704. doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.00415.x
- Douglas, F. (2009). *Scottish newspapers, language and identity*. Oxford Oxford University Press.
- Dowty, A. (2008). *Israel/Palestine* (2nd Edition ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Duffy, M. J. (2011). Newspapers inconsistent over activist arrests, *media posts*. Retrieved from <http://mideastposts.com/2011/04/12/uae-press-inconsistent-overhandling-of-blogger-arrests/>
- Duffy, M. J. (2013). 'Cultures of Journalism' in Arabic-and English-language Newspapers within the United Arab Emirates. *Journal of Middle East Media*, 9(1), 24-45.



- Duguid, A. (2008). Men at work: How those at Number 10 construct their working identity. In G. Garzone & S. Sarangi (Eds.), *Discourse, Ideology and Specialized Communication* (pp. 453-484). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Dukes, K., Atwell, E., & Habash, N. (2013). Supervised collaboration for syntactic annotation of Quranic Arabic. *Language resources and evaluation*, 47(1), 33-62.
- Dukes, K., Atwell, E., & Sharaf, A.-B. M. (2010). *Syntactic Annotation Guidelines for the Quranic Arabic Dependency Treebank*. Paper presented at the LREC.
- Dukes, K., & Habash, N. (2010). *Morphological Annotation of Quranic Arabic*. Paper presented at the LREC.
- Ebiefu, K. I., & Inokoba, P. K. (2012). The Arab Spring and the Making of a Peoples Revolution: Lessons for Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Behavioral Sciences*, 2(5).
- El-Bendary, M. (2003). Watching the war against Iraq through pan-Arab satellite TV. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 9(1), 26-31.
- El-Bendary, M. (2011). *The "ugly American" in the Arab Mind: Why Do Arabs Resent America?* Dulles: Potomac Books.
- El-Katiri, L., & Fattouh, B. (2011). *Energy poverty in the Arab world: the case of Yemen*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.
- El-Katiri, L., Fattouh, B., & Mallinson, R. G. (2014). *The Arab uprisings and MENA political instability: Implications for oil & gas markets*. Oxford: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies.
- El-Khawass, M. A. (1986). *Qaddafi: his ideology in theory and practice*. Brattleboro, Vt: Amana Books.
- El-Khawass, M. A. (2012). Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution: Causes and Impact. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 23(4), 1-23.
- Enders, W., & Sandler, T. (2006). Distribution of transnational terrorism among countries by income class and geography after 9/11. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(2), 367-393.
- English, E. L. (2005). Towards a more productive military-media relationship: School of Advanced Military Studies United States Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
- Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2010). Media and political persuasion: Evidence from Russia. *American Economic Review*, 101(7), 3252-3285.
- Eran, O. (2011). The West Responds to the Arab Spring. *Strategic Assessment*, 14(2), 15-16.
- Eskjær, M. F. (2012). Changing Revolutions, Changing Attention? Comparing Danish Press Coverage of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Syria. *Global Media Journal*, 2(1).
- Esomba, S. (2012). *Wall Streets Infected by Arab Spring*: Dr. phil. Esomba (Standard Copyright License)
- Essees, M. (2010). *Grammaticalization of Arabic Prepositions and Subordinators: A Corpus-Based Study* (Vol. 59). Leiden ; Boston: Brill.
- Eugenio, D. (2013). New emerging balances in the post-Arab Spring: the Muslim Brotherhood and the Gulf monarchies, *Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale Analysis*.
- Evans, G. (2008). *The responsibility to protect: ending mass atrocity crimes once and for all*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- Fahim, K., & El Sheikh, M. (2013). Growing Strains for Muslim Brotherhood and Emirates, *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/04/world/middleeast/egypt-tries-to-resolve-tensions-between-muslim-brotherhood-and-uae.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/04/world/middleeast/egypt-tries-to-resolve-tensions-between-muslim-brotherhood-and-uae.html?_r=0)
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, MA; Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. New York; London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Media discourse*. London: E. Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (Vol. 2nd). New York; Harlow, Eng: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). 'Political correctness': the politics of culture and language. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 14(1), 17-28. doi: 10.1177/0957926503014001927
- Fairclough, N. (2009). A dialectical-relational approach to critical discourse analysis in social research. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 162-187).

- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. (pp. 258-284.). London: Routledge.
- Falola, T., Morgan, J., & Oyeniyi, B. A. (2012). *Culture and Customs of Libya*. Santa Barbara [Calif.]: Greenwood.
- Fialka, J. J. (1992). *Hotel warriors: covering the Gulf War*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Filali-Ansary, A. (2012). The Languages of the Arab revolutions. *Journal of Democracy*, 23(2), 5-18.
- Firth, J. R. (1957). *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951: Repr.* Oxford Oxford University Press.
- Fitch, K. L. (2005). Conclusion: Behind the scenes of language and scholarly interaction. In R. E. Sanders (Ed.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction* (pp. 461-482). New York: Psychology Press.
- Flowerdew, J. (1997). The discourse of colonial withdrawal: a case study in the creation of mythic discourse. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 8(4), 453-477. doi: 10.1177/0957926597008004002
- Ford, G. (2016). *Building corpora to study politics (and New Zealand English)*. Paper presented at the New Zealand English and English in New Zealand (NZEENZ), University of Canterbury, Christchurch, NZ.
- Forest, R. W. (2007). *"Tell us what you really think": collocation and discourse in an intertextual corpus*. (PhD. Thesis), City University of Hong Kong.
- Francis, W. N., Kučera, H., & Mackie, A. W. (1982). *Frequency Analysis Of English Usage*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Fürtig, H. (2013). Iran and the Arab Spring: between expectations and disillusion: GIGA Working Papers.
- Gabrielatos, C., & Baker, P. (2008). Fleeing, Sneaking, Flooding: A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Constructions of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2005. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 36(1), 5-38. doi: 10.1177/0075424207311247
- Gabrielatos, C., & Duguid, A. (2015). *Corpus Linguistics and CDA Revisiting the notion of synergy*. Paper presented at the Corpus Linguistics in the South 9 Oxford Brooks University.
- Gabrielatos, C., McEnery, T., Diggle, P. J., & Baker, P. (2012). The peaks and troughs of corpus-based contextual analysis. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 17(2), 151-175.
- Galal, A., Galander, M., & Auter, P. J. (2008). *The image of the United States portrayed in Arab World online journalism*. Paper presented at the Paper abstract submitted for consideration to the Ninth International Symposium on Online Journalism. University of Texas at Austin.
- Galtung, J. (2006). Peace journalism as an ethical challenge. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, 1(2), 1-5.
- Gerhards, J., & Schäfer, M. S. (2013). International terrorism, domestic coverage? How terrorist attacks are presented in the news of CNN, Al Jazeera, the BBC, and ARD. *International Communication Gazette*, 76(1)(1), 3-26.
- Ghabdian, N. (2012). How Satellite TV Challenges State Media Monopoly: Al-Jazeera's Coverage of Syria. In B. Rubin (Ed.), *The Middle East: A Guide to Politics, Economics, Society and Culture*. London and New York: Routledge
- Grassi, E. A., & Barker, H. B. (2009). *Culturally and linguistically diverse exceptional students: Strategies for teaching and assessment*: SAGE Publications.
- Green, A. M. (2011). What Can We Predict About Libya and the Arab Spring from Statistical Studies? *Statistics, Politics and Policy*, 2(1).
- Gries, S. T., & Stefanowitsch, A. (2007). *Corpora in cognitive linguistics: corpus-based approaches to syntax and lexis* (Vol. 1). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Griset, P. L., & Mahan, S. (2003). *Terrorism in perspective*. London: Sage Publications
- Groeling, T., & Baum, M. A. (2008). Crossing the water's edge: Elite rhetoric, media coverage, and the rally-round-the-flag phenomenon. *The Journal of Politics*, 70(04), 1065-1085.
- Grundmann, R., & Krishnamurthy, R. (2010). The discourse of climate change: a corpus-based approach. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, 4(2), 125-146.
- Gul, Y. (2014). Effect of Information Technology on Social Movements: A case study of Arab countries. *Asian Journal of Humanity, Art and Literature*, 1(2), 84-96.
- Guo, S., & Stradiotto, G. A. (2014). *Democratic transitions: modes and outcomes*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Habash, N., Roth, R., Rambow, O., Eskander, R., & Tomeh, N. (2013). *Morphological Analysis and Disambiguation for Dialectal Arabic*. Paper presented at the Hlt-Naacl.
- Hafez, K. (2008). The role of media in the Arab world's transformation process. In C.-P. Hanelt, and Almut Möller (Ed.), *Bound To Cooperate— Europe and the Middle East II*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.
- Hagger, N. (2009). *The Libyan Revolution: Its Origins and Legacy: a Memoir and Assessment*. London: John Hunt Publishing.
- Hagood, A. (2010). *Saudi Arabia and Iran: The Tale of Two Media*. Arab Media and Society. American University, Cairo. Retrieved from <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=740>
- Hall, A. L. (2010). *Change We Can Believe In?: Commentaries on the Major Events of our Time*. New York, Bloomington: iUniverse Inc.
- Hällgren, L. (2012). *Peace-and War Journalism: A critical discourse analysis of newspaper editorials on the topic of Iran's nuclear program*. Umeå Universitet, Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen. Retrieved from <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:540134/fulltext01.pdf>
- Halliday, M. A. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: the social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. (1993). Quantitative studies and probabilities in grammar. In H. D. Michael (Ed.), *ata, Description, Discourse - Papers on the English Language in honour of John McH Sinclair*. London: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanks, P. (2012). The corpus revolution in lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography*, 25(4), 398-436. doi: 10.1093/ijl/ecs026
- Hardt-Mautner, G. (1995). *Only Connect.' Critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics'*. . UCREL (University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language). Technical Papers 6: Lancaster University. Retrieved from <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/papers/techpaper/vol6.pdf>.
- Hardt-Mautner, G. (2007). Mining large corpora for social information: The case of elderly. *Language in Society*, 36(1), 51-72. doi: 10.1017/S0047404507070030
- Hardt-Mautner, G. (2009). Checks and balances: How corpus linguistics can contribute to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 122-143). London: SAGE.
- Harmon, D. (2014). *Libya (Major Muslim Nation)*. Philadelphia: Mason Crest Publishers.
- Harris, Z. S. (1952). Discourse Analysis. *Language*, 28(1), 1-30.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). Manufacturing consent: A propaganda model. In E. S. Herman & N. Chomsky (Eds.), *Manufacturing Consent*. Pantheon: New York.
- Hokayem, E. (2011). The Gulf States and Syria *Peace brief 116*: United States Institute of Peace
- Holehouse, M. (2011). Libya: Colonel Gaddafi's children - where are they now?, *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8718105/Libya-Colonel-Gaddafis-children-where-are-they-now.html>
- Howard, P. N., Duffy, A., Freelon, D., Hussain, M. M., Mari, W., & Mazaid, M. (2011). Opening closed regimes: what was the role of social media during the Arab Spring? Seattle: PIPTI.
- Huckin, T. (1995). Critical discourse analysis. *The Journal of TESOL*, 23, 95-112.
- Hughes, S. (2011). LSE criticised for links with Gaddafi regime in Libya, *BBC News*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/education-15966132>
- Huliaras, A. (2006). Evangelists, oil companies, and terrorists: The Bush administration's policy towards Sudan. *Orbis*, 50(4), 709-724.
- Hunston, S. (2002). *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunston, S. (2008). Collection strategies and design decisions. In A. Ludeling & M. Kyto (Eds.), *Corpus linguistics: An international handbook* (Vol. 1, pp. 154-167). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hutcheson, J., Domke, D., Garland, P., & Billeaudeau, A. (2004). U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11. *Political Communication*, 21(1), 27-50. doi: 10.1080/10584600490273254

- Ide, N. (1998). *Corpus Encoding Standard: SGML guidelines for encoding linguistic corpora*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the First International Language Resources and Evaluation Conference.
- Iskandar, A. (2007). Lines in the sand: Problematizing Arab media in the post-taxonomic era. *Arab Media & Society*, 2(1), 31-47.
- Izadi, F., & Saghaie-Biria, H. (2007). A Discourse Analysis of Elite American Newspaper Editorials: The Case of Iran's Nuclear Program. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 31(2), 140-165. doi: 10.1177/0196859906298073
- Jaworska, S., & Krishnamurthy, R. (2012). On the F word: A corpus-based analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press discourse, 1990–2009. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 23(4), 401-431.
- Jones, P. (2012a). The Arab spring: Opportunities and implications. *International Journal*, 67(2), 447-463. doi: 10.1177/002070201206700214
- Jones, P. (2013). Hope and disappointment: Iran and the Arab Spring. *Survival*, 55(4), 73-84.
- Jones, T. C. (2012b). America, oil, and war in the middle east. *Journal of American History*, 99(1), 208-218.
- Kafaji, T. (2011). *The psychology of the Arab: The influences that shape an Arab life*. Boomington: AuthorHouse.
- Kalpakistan, J. (2013). Between reform and reaction: The Syrian and Moroccan responses to the Arab spring. *Innovation Journal*, 18(1), 1.
- Kandil, M. A. (2009). *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in American, Arab, and British Media: Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis*. (PhD Dissertation), Georgia State University.
- Kassim, S. (2012). Twitter revolution: how the Arab Spring was helped by social media, *Policy.Mic*. Retrieved from <http://mic.com/articles/10642/twitter-revolution-how-the-arab-spring-was-helped-by-social-media>
- Kautsky, R., & Widholm, A. (2008). Online methodology: Analysing news flows of online journalism. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 5(2), 81-97.
- Kendall, G. (2007). What is critical discourse analysis? Ruth Wodak in Conversation with Gavin Kendall [Interview: 38 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, 8(2).
- Kenny, D. (2001). *Lexis and Creativity in Translation: A Corpus-based Study*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Khoja, S. (2001). *APT: Arabic part-of-speech tagger*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Student Workshop at NAACL.
- Khondker, H. H. (2011). Role of the new media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, 8(5), 675-679.
- Khouri, R. (2011). Arab media: Rebuilding trust with their public. *Nieman Reports*, 65(3), 42-43.
- Khouri, R. (2011 ). Arab Spring or Revolution? , *The Global and mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/globe-debate/arab-spring-or-revolution/article626345/>
- Kim, K. H. (2014). Examining US news media discourses about North Korea: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 25(2), 221-244. doi: 10.1177/0957926513516043
- Kitchen, N. (2012). After the Arab Spring: power shift in the Middle East?: the contradictions of hegemony: the United States and the Arab Spring. In N. Kitchen (Ed.), *IDEAS reports - special reports*. London, UK: LSE IDEAS, London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Klare, M. (2004). *Blood and oil: The dangers and consequences of America's growing dependency on imported petroleum*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Koeppel, B. (1988). *The press in the Middle East: Constraint, consensus, censorship*. Washington, D.C.: Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP).
- Koller, V., & Hardt-Mautner, G. (2004). Computer applications in critical discourse analysis. In C. H. Coffin, A. and O'Halloran, K. (Ed.), *Applying English Grammar: Corpus and Functional Approaches* (pp. 216–228). London: Arnold.
- Krauthammer, C. (2005). The Arab Spring of 2005, *The Seattle Times*. Retrieved from [http://seattletimes.com/html/opinion/2002214060\\_krauthammer21.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/opinion/2002214060_krauthammer21.html)



- Krauthammer, C. (2011). The Obama Doctrine: leading from behind, *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-obama-doctrine-leading-from-behind/2011/04/28/AFBCy18E\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-obama-doctrine-leading-from-behind/2011/04/28/AFBCy18E_story.html)
- Kress, G. R. (1994). Text and Grammar as Explanation. In U. a. R. K. Meinhof (Ed.), *Text, Discourse and Context: Representations of Poverty in Britain* (pp. 24-46). London: Longman.
- Kress, G. R. (1997). *Before writing: rethinking the paths to literacy*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Kristensen, N. N., & Ørsten, M. (2007). Danish Media at War: The Danish Media Coverage of the Invasion of Iraq 2003. *Journalism-Theory Practice and Criticism*, 8(3), 323-344.
- Kroenig, M. (2009). Exporting the bomb: Why states provide sensitive nuclear assistance. *American Political Science Review*, 103(01), 113-133.
- Kumhof, M., & Muir, D. (2014). Oil and the world economy: some possible futures. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London A: Mathematical, Physical and Engineering Sciences*, 372(2006), 20120327.
- Kydd, A. H., & Walter, B. F. (2006). The Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security*, 31(1), 49-80. doi: 10.1162/isec.2006.31.1.49
- Lasorsa, D. L. (1991). Effects of newspaper competition on public opinion diversity. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 68(1-2), 38-47.
- Ledwell, T. (2012). *The Story of Egypt: Journalistic impressions of a revolution and new media power*. (MA Thesis), The University of London:, UK
- Lee, C.-h. (2004). *News coverage of the US war with Iraq: a comparison of the New York times, the Arab news, and the Middle East times*. (PhD Dissertation), The University of Texas at Austin.
- Leech, G. (1992). Corpora and theories of linguistic performance. In J. Svartvik (Ed.), *Directions in Corpus Linguistics. Proceedings of Nobel Symposium, 4-8 August 1991* (pp. 105–122). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Leech, G. (2005). Adding Linguistic Annotation. In M. Wynne (Ed.), *Developing linguistic corpora: A guide to good practice* (Vol. 92). Oxford: Oxbow Books
- Leech, P., & Gaskarth, J. (2015). British Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 26(1), 139-160.
- Levins, C. M. (2012). The Rentier State and the Survival of Arab Absolute Monarchies. *Rutgers JL & Religion*, 14, 388.
- Levon, E., & Baker, P. (2016). ‘That’s what I call a man’: Representations of racialized and class masculinities in the UK print media. *GENDER AND LANGUAGE*, 10(1), 106-139.
- Lieberfeld, D. (2005 ). Theories of Conflict and the Iraq War. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(2), 1-21.
- Lindström, M., & Zetterlund, K. (2012). Setting the Stage for the Military Intervention in Libya *Decisions Made and Their Implications for the EU and NATO*. Stockholm: Swedish Ministry of Defence.
- Lizza, R. (2011). The Consequentialist: How the Arab Spring Remade Obama’s Foreign Policy, *New Yorker*.
- Lobban, R. A., & Dalton, C. H. (2014). *Libya: History and Revolution*. Santa Barbara ABC-CLIO, Calif.
- Lopez, G. A., & Myers, N. J. (1997). *Peace and security: the next generation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Lubin, G. (2011). Qaddafi Was Worth More Than \$200 Billion — By Far The Richest Person In The World, *Business Insider*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com.au/qaddafi-200-billion-richest-2011-10>
- Lukač, M. (2011). Down to the bone: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis of pro-eating disorder blogs. *Jezikoslovlje*, 12(2), 187-209.
- Luke, A. (2002). Beyond Science and Ideology Critique: Developments in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 22, 96-110.
- Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism*. Stroud, [England]: Hawthorn Press.
- Lynch, M. (6 January 2011). Obama's 'Arab Spring'?, *FP*. Retrieved from [http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/06/obamas\\_arab\\_spring](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2011/01/06/obamas_arab_spring)
- Lynch, M. (2003). Taking Arabs Seriously. *FOREIGN AFFAIRS-NEW YORK-*, 82(5), 81-94.
- Lynch, M. (2012). *The Arab Uprising*. New York: PublicAffairs.

- Lynch, M. (2013). *The Arab uprising: The unfinished revolutions of the new Middle East*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Lynch, M. (2015). How the Media Trashed the Transitions. *Journal of Democracy*, 26(4), 90-99.
- Maalej, Z. A. (2012). The 'Jasmine Revolt' has made the 'Arab Spring': A critical discourse analysis of the last three political speeches of the ousted president of Tunisia. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 23(6), 679-700. doi: 10.1177/0957926512452973
- MacFarquhar, N. (2011). An Erratic Leader, Brutal and Defiant to the End, *The NYT*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/21/world/africa/qaddafi-killed-as-hometown-falls-to-libyan-rebels.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/21/world/africa/qaddafi-killed-as-hometown-falls-to-libyan-rebels.html?_r=0)
- Mackay, M. (2011). Prayer and politics: How Friday became the Middle East's day of protest, *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/meast/06/17/friday.middle.east.protests/>
- Magstadt, T. (2014). *Understanding politics: Ideas, institutions, and issues*: Cengage Learning.
- Maingueneau, D. (2006). Is Discourse Analysis Critical? *Critical Discourse Studies*, 3(2), 229.
- Malik, A., & Awadallah, B. (2013). The Economics of the Arab Spring. *World Development*, 45, 296-313. doi: 10.1016/j.worlddev.2012.12.015
- Manosevitch, E., & Walker, D. (2009, April 17–18, 2009.). *Reader comments to online opinion journalism: A space of public deliberation*. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Online Journalism, Austin.
- Mansour, M. (2013). The absence of Arabic corpus linguistics: a call for creating an Arabic national corpus. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(12), 81-90.
- Marchi, A., & Taylor, C. (2009). If on a winter's night two researchers...: a challenge to assumptions of soundness of interpretation. *CADAAD Journal [Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines]*, 3(1), 1-20.
- Martin, J. R. (2004). Positive Discourse Analysis: Solidarity and Change. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 49, 179-200.
- McChesney, R. W. (2003). The problem of journalism: A political economic contribution to an explanation of the crisis in contemporary US journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 4(3), 299-329.
- McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public opinion quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- McEnery, T. (2006). *Swearing in English: Bad language, purity and power from 1586 to the present*. London: Routledge.
- McEnery, T., & Wilson, A. (2001). *Corpus linguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- McEnery, T., Xiao, R., & Tono, Y. (2006). *Corpus-based language studies: An advanced resource book*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis.
- McIlvenny, P. (1996). Heckling in Hyde Park: Verbal audience participation in popular public discourse. *Language in Society*, 25(1), 27-60. doi: 10.1017/S004740450002042X
- McKay, S. B. (2009). Media and language: overview. In J. L. Mey (Ed.), *Concise Encyclopedia of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Merriman, J. M. (1996). *A History of Modern Europe: From the French Revolution to the Present*. New York; London: W. W. Norton
- Michael, M., & Bassem, M. (2011). Libya Protests: Tripoli In Open Revolt, Pro-Gaddafi Gangs Terrorize Capital, *The World Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/26/libya-protests-tripoli-re\\_n\\_828586.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/26/libya-protests-tripoli-re_n_828586.html)
- Michel, H. (2013). *"IrHal!": The Role of Language in the Arab Spring*. (MA Thesis), Georgetown University.
- Miles, H. (2006). *Al-Jazeera: The inside story of the Arab news channel that is challenging the West*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Mirkin, B. (2013). *Arab Spring: Demographics in a region in transition*. New York: United Nations Development Programm.
- Montgomery, B. P. (2009). *Richard B. Cheney and the rise of the imperial vice presidency*. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Moore, A. F. (2000). Reporting verbs and bias in the press. *Lenguaje y textos*(15), 153-160.
- Moss, R., & Ernsthausen, D. G. (2012). *Strauss's handbook of business information: a guide for librarians, students, and researchers*. TX, USA: Libraries Unlimited Date

- Moynihan, C. (2011). Libya's U.N. Diplomats Break With Qaddafi, *The NYT*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/22/world/africa/22nations.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/22/world/africa/22nations.html?_r=0)
- Mulderrig, J. (2011). Manufacturing Consent: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis of New Labour's educational governance. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(6), 562-578. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2010.00723.x
- Murphy, C. (2012). The Arab Spring: The Uprising and its Significance, *Trinity Magazine* 2012. Retrieved from <http://www.trinitydc.edu/magazine-2012/the-arab-spring-the-uprising-and-its-significance/>
- Musa, M., & Korobko, Y. (2014). *The Shifting Global Balance of Power: Perils of a World War and Preventive Measures*: Xlibris Corporation.
- National Newspapers Report. (2013). UK National Newspapers Report: Audit Bureau of Circulation.
- Navrátil, J. (1998). *The Prague Spring 1968: A National Security Archive Documents Reader*. New York: Central European University Press.
- Neumayer, E., & Plümper, T. (2011). Foreign terror on Americans. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(1), 3-17. doi: 10.1177/0022343310390147
- Nygren, G., Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Anikina, M. (2015). Professional autonomy: Challenges and Opportunities in Poland, Russia and Sweden. *Nordicom Review*, 36 (2), 79-95.
- O'Halloran, K., & Coffin, C. (2004). Checking over-interpretation and under-interpretation: Help from corpora in critical linguistics. In C. Coffin, Hewings, A. and O'Halloran, K.A. (Ed.), *Applying English Grammar: Functional and Corpus Approaches* (pp. 275-297). London: Hodder Arnold.
- Oakes, J. (2011). *Libya: The History of Gaddafi's Pariah State*. Stroud, Gloucestershire, England: The History Press.
- Örnebring, H. (2013). Anything you can do, I can do better? Professional journalists on citizen journalism in six European countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 75(1), 35-53.
- Orpin, D. (2005). Corpus linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis: Examining the ideology of sleaze. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 10(1), 37-61. doi: 10.1075/ijcl.10.1.03orpin
- Ottaway, M., & Hamzawy, A. (2011). *Protest movements and political change in the Arab world* (Vol. 28). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Owen, R. (2014). *The Rise and Fall of Arab Presidents for Life: With a New Afterword*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Painter, J. (2013). *Climate change in the media: Reporting risk and uncertainty*. London: IB Tauris.
- Panara, C., & Wilson, G. (2013). *The Arab spring: New patterns for democracy and international law* (Vol. 82). Leiden & Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Pargeter, A. (2012). *Libya: the rise and fall of Qaddafi*. London: Yale University Press.
- Partington, A. (1998). *Patterns and meanings: Using corpora for English language research and teaching* (Vol. 2). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Partington, A. (2003). *The linguistics of political argument: The spin-doctor and the wolf-pack at the White House*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Partington, A. (2006). Metaphors, Motifs and Similes across Discourse Types: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) at Work. In A. Stefanowitsch & S. T. Gries (Eds.), *Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy* (pp. 267-304). Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Partington, A. (2008). The Armchair and the Machine: Corpus-Assisted Discourse Research. In C. Taylor Torsello, K. Ackerley & E. Castello (Eds.), *Corpora for University Language Teachers* (pp. 95-118). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Partington, A. (2009). Evaluating evaluation and some concluding reflections on CADS. In P. M. Bayley, J. (Ed.), *Corpus Assisted Discourse Studies on the Iraq Conflict: Wordings the war* (pp. 261-303). London: Routledge.
- Partington, A., Duguid, A., & Taylor, C. (2013). *Patterns and meanings in discourse: theory and practice in corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS)* (Vol. 55). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Partington, A., & Morley, J. (2004). At the heart of ideology: Word and cluster / bundle frequency in political debate. In B. ewandowska-Tomaszyk (Ed.), *Practical Applications in Language and Computers (PALC 2003)* (pp. 1179-1192). Bern: Peter Lang. .

- Partington, A., Morley, J., & Haarman, L. (2004). *Corpora and Discourse*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Pasha, T. (2011). *Islamists in the Headlines: Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian Newspapers*. (PhD Dissertation), The University of Utah US.
- Pattison, J. (2011). The Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention in Libya. *Ethics and International Affairs*, 25(3), 271-277. doi: 10.1017/S0892679411000256
- Phillips, A. (2015). *Journalism in context: practice and theory for the digital age*. New York;London;: Routledge.
- Qian, N., & Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2013). Does Foreign Policy Influence US News Coverage? Evidence from Human Rights Reporting during the Cold War: Working Paper.
- Raghavan, S. (2011). Gaddafi refuses to cede power; protesters win backing of defectors, *Washington Post Foreign Service* Retrieved from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/22/AR2011022207375.html>
- Ramoin, F. E., Sande, E., Hirst, J. D., Murray, A., Oldemeinen, M., Devitt, R., . . . Clark, J. N. (2012). Why Intervention in Libya was Justified. *e-International Relations*, 25.
- Ratner, M. (2011). *Middle East and North Africa unrest: implications for oil and natural gas markets*: DIANE Publishing.
- Reich, Z., & Hanitzsch, T. (2013). Determinants of journalists' professional autonomy: Individual and national level factors matter more than organizational ones. *Mass Communication and Society*, 16(1), 133-156.
- Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2001). *Discourse and discrimination*. London: Routledge.
- Responsibility to Protect. (2005). Responsibility to Protect: United Nations.
- Reuters. (2015). Syria death toll now exceeds 210,000: rights group, *Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/07/us-mideast-crisis-toll-idUSKBN0LB0DY20150207>
- Riasati, M. J., & Rahimi, F. (2011). Critical Discourse Analysis: Scrutinizing Ideologically-Driven Discourses. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(16).
- Richardson, J. E. (2004). *(Mis) representing Islam: The racism and rhetoric of British broadsheet newspapers* (Vol. 9). Amsterdam /Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Roeder, G. H. (1995). *The censored war: American visual experience during World War Two*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rogan, E. (2011). *The Arabs: a history*. New York: Basic Books.
- Roland, D., Dick, F., & Elman, J. L. (2007). Frequency of basic English grammatical structures: A corpus analysis. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 57(3), 348-379. doi: 10.1016/j.jml.2007.03.002
- Rugh, W. A. (1987). *The Arab press: News media and political process in the Arab world*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ Pr.
- Rugh, W. A. (2004). *Arab mass media: Newspapers, radio, and television in Arab politics*. Westport, CT: Greenwood publishing group.
- Rugh, W. A. (2007). Do national political systems still influence Arab media. *Arab Media and Society*, 2.
- Ruiz, C., Domingo, D., Micó, J. L., Díaz-Noci, J., Meso, K., & Masip, P. (2011). Public Sphere 2.0? The Democratic Qualities of Citizen Debates in Online Newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 16(4), 463-487. doi: 10.1177/1940161211415849
- Ryan, Y. (2011). The tragic life of a street vendor, *Al-Jazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/01/201111684242518839.html>
- Sadiki, L. (2009). Like Father, Like Son. Dynastic Republicanism in the Middle East. *Policy Outlook*, 52.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.
- Said, E. (1981). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine how We See the Rest of the World*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Salaita, S. (2012). Corporate American media coverage of Arab revolutions: the contradictory message of modernity. *Interface*, 4(1), 131-145.



- Salama, A. H. Y. (2011). Ideological collocation and the recontextualization of Wahhabi-Saudi Islam post-9/11: A synergy of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 22(3), 315-342. doi: 10.1177/0957926510395445
- Samuel, H., & Ramdani, N. (2013). Gaddafi's daughter thrown out of Algeria after she 'set fire to presidential residence', *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/9967203/Gaddafis-daughter-thrown-out-of-Algeria-after-she-set-fire-to-presidential-residence.html>
- Santarelli, E. (1986). *Omar al-Mukhtar: the Italian reconquest of Libya*. London: Darf.
- Saudi Research & Marketing Group. (2009). *Global Research - Saudi Arabia*: Global Investment House.
- Sawalha, M., & Atwell, E. (2011). *Corpus linguistics resources and tools for Arabic lexicography*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2011 Workshop on Arabic Corpus Linguistics.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). Whose text? Whose context? *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 8(2), 165-187. doi: 10.1177/0957926597008002002
- Schudson, M. (2003). *The sociology of news* New York: Norton & Company.
- Schumacher, E. (1986). The United States and Libya. *Foreign Affairs*, 65(2), 87.
- Scott, M. (1999). WordSmith Tools (Software). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scott, M. (2010). WordSmith Tools Help. Stroud: Lexical Analysis Software.
- Scott, M. (2012). WordSmith tools version 6. Stroud: Lexical Analysis Software.
- Seeberg, P., & Shteiwi, M. (2014). European Narratives on the 'Arab Spring'—from Democracy to Security. *DJUCO Joint Publications*.
- Senauth, F. (2013). *The Making And The Revolution of Libya*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.
- Seo, S. (2013). Hallidayean transitivity analysis: The Battle for Tripoli in the contrasting headlines of two national newspapers. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 24(6), 774-791. doi: 10.1177/0957926513503267
- Serwer, D. (2011). Post-Qaddafi Instability in Libya. *Contingency Planning Memorandum*, 12, 1-5.
- Sharaf, A.-B. M., & Atwell, E. (2012). *QurAna: Corpus of the Quran annotated with Pronominal Anaphora*. Paper presented at the LREC.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996a). Mediating the message. Theories of influences on mass media content 2nd ed. New York: Longman.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996b). *Mediating the message: Theories of influence on mass media content*. New York: Longman.
- Sidel, M. (2007). *More secure, less free?: Antiterrorism policy & civil liberties after September 11*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Simons, G. (1993). *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, New York: St: Martin's Press.
- Sinclair, J. M. (2004). *Trust the text: language, corpus and discourse*. New York, N.Y: Taylor & Francis.
- Sjovaag, H. (2013). Journalistic autonomy; between structure, agency and institution. *NORDICOM Review: Nordic Research on Media and Communication*, 34, 155-167.
- Skovgaard-Petersen, J. (2006). Democratization and the New Arab Media. In D. J. (Ed.), *Democratization and Development: New Political Strategies for the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan (pp. 83-100). New York: Palgrave.
- Skulte-Ouaiss, J., & Baroudi, S. E. (2015). Mohamed Hassanein Heikal on the United States: The Critical Discourse of a Leading Arab Intellectual. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 51(1), 93-114. doi: 10.1080/00263206.2014.941820
- Sky News. (2011). Gaddafi To Be Buried In Secret Desert Grave, *Sky News*. Retrieved from <http://news.sky.com/story/893624/gaddafi-to-be-buried-in-secret-desert-grave>
- Smith, L. (2016). Arab Spring 5 years on: Timeline of the major events and uprisings in the Middle East, *International Business Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/arab-spring-5-years-timeline-major-events-uprisings-middle-east-1539085>
- Springborg, R. (2011a). The Political Economy of the Arab Spring. *Mediterranean Politics*, 16(3), 427-433. doi: 10.1080/13629395.2011.613678
- Springborg, R. (2011b). Whither the Arab Spring? 1989 or 1848? *The International Spectator*, 46(3), 5-12.

- St. Clair, D. (2015). *Visions of Africa: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the "New York Times" Coverage of Africa*. (Dissertation/Thesis), ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
- Stroud, N. J., & Reese, S. D. (2008). *Objectivity & Balance: How Do Readers and Viewers of News and Information Reach Conclusions Regarding Objectivity and Balance?* (PhD Dissertation), University of Texas.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). *Discourse analysis: The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language* (Vol. 4). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1995). Collocations and Semantic Profiles: On the Cause of the Trouble with Quantitative Studies. *Functions of Language*, 2(1), 23-55. doi: 10.1075/fol.2.1.03stu
- Stubbs, M. (1997). Whorf's children: Critical comments on critical discourse analysis (CDA). In A. Ryan & A. Wray (Eds.), *Evolving Models of Language: British Studies in Applied Linguistics* (Vol. 12, pp. 100-116). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Stubbs, M. (2001). *Words and phrases: corpus studies of lexical semantics*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Stubbs, M. (2006). Corpus analysis: The state of the art and three types of unanswered questions. In G. Thompson & S. Hunston (Eds.), *System and corpus: Exploring connections* (pp. 15-36). London: Equinox.
- Stubbs, M. (2007). On Texts, Corpora and Models of Language. In M. Hoey, M. Mahlberg, M. Stubbs & W. Teubert (Eds.), *Text, discourse and corpora: Theory and analysis* (pp. 127-161). London: Continuum
- Sunderland, J. (2004). *Gendered discourses*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Telhami, S. (2013). *Arab Perspectives on Iran's Role in a Changing Middle East*: Wilson Center.
- Teti, A. (2012). The EU's First Response to the 'Arab Spring': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity. *Mediterranean Politics*, 17(3), 266-284. doi: 10.1080/13629395.2012.725297
- Tharoor, I. (2011). Keeping Up with the Gaddafis: A Who's Who of the Dictator's Children, *Time*. Retrieved from <http://world.time.com/2011/10/20/keeping-up-with-the-gaddafis-a-whos-who-of-the-dictators-children/>
- The Committee to Protect Journalists. (2012). 10 Most Censored Countries. Retrieved from <https://cpj.org/reports/CPJ.Ten.Most.Censored.5.2.12.pdf>
- The Economist. (2011). The 2011 oil shock, *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/18281774>
- The Guardian. (2011a). Gaddafi's son Saif al-Islam is free, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/aug/23/saif-al-islam-gaddafi-son-free>
- The Guardian. (2011b). Libya: battle for Tripoli – Tuesday 23 August 2011, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/middle-east-live/2011/aug/23/libya-battle-for-tripoli-live-blog>
- The Guardian. (2011c). Muammar Gaddafi timeline, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/20/muammar-gaddafi-timeline>
- The Guardian. (2014). The Guardian overtakes New York Times in comScore traffic figures, *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/oct/21/the-guardian-overtakes-new-york-times-in-comscore-traffic-figures>
- The Telegraph. (2011). Libya: Saif al-Islam Gaddafi vows to continue the war and retake Tripoli, *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8734174/Libya-Saif-al-Islam-Gaddafi-vows-to-continue-the-war-and-retake-Tripoli.html>
- The World Bank. (2013). Population, total. from <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL>
- Thornborrow, J. (1998). Playing hard to get: metaphor and representation in the discourse of car advertisements. *Language and Literature*, 7(3), 254-272.
- Thussu, D. K. (2000). Development news versus globalized infotainment. In A. Malek & A. P. Kavoori (Eds.), *The global dynamics of news: Studies in international news coverage and news agenda* (pp. 323-342). Stamford, Connecticut: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2000). Corpus classroom currency. *Darbai ir dienos*, 24, 205-243.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). Corpus Linguistics at Work. *Computational Linguistics*, 28(4), 583-583. doi: 10.1162/coli.2002.28.4.583a

- U.S. Energy Information Administration. (2013). Crude Oil production in Libya, January 2010 to September 2013.
- Ulrichsen, K. C. (2012). *Small states with a big role: Qatar and the United Arab Emirates in the wake of the Arab Spring*. Discussion Paper, Durham University.
- Uribe, R., & Gunter, B. (2004). Research note: The tabloidization of British tabloids. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(3), 387-402.
- Uysal, A. (2012). The New Frontier in International Politics: The Nature of al-Jazeera's Prime-time Broadcasting in Arabic and English. In M. Zweiri (Ed.), *The new Arab media: Technology, image and perception*. Reading: Ithaca Press.
- Van De Mierop, D. (2005). An integrated approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis in the study of identity in speeches. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 16(1), 107-130. doi: 10.1177/0957926505048232
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). *Racism and the Press*. London: Routledge
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993a). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993b). Principles of critical discourse analysis. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 4(2), 249-283. doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002006
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995a). Aims of critical discourse analysis. *Japanese discourse*, 1(1), 17-28.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1995b). Ideological discourse analysis. In E. Ventola & A. Solin (Eds.), *New Courant Special issue Interdisciplinary approaches to Discourse Analysis* (Vol. 4, pp. 135-161). University of Helsinki: The English Department Publications.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). Power and the news media. In D. Paletz & C. Vinson (Eds.), *Political communication and action* (pp. 9-36). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1997). Discourse as interaction in society. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (Vol. 2, pp. 1-37). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2000). *Ideology and discourse: A multidisciplinary introduction*. Barcelona: Pompeu Fabra University.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001a). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen, and Heidi E. Hamilton (Ed.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352- 371). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2001b). Multidisciplinary CDA: A Plea for Diversity. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2003). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Schiffrin, Tannen, D., Hamilton, H.E. (Ed.), *The handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352-371). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2004). *From Text Grammar to Critical Discourse Analysis. A brief academic autobiography*. Retrieved from <http://www.discourses.org/From%20text%20grammar%20to%20critical%20discourse%20analysis.html>
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006a). Discourse and manipulation. *DISCOURSE & SOCIETY*, 17(3), 359-383.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2006b). Politics, ideology, and discourse. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. (Vol. 9, pp. 728-740). Oxford ; New York: Pergamon Press.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (Vol. 2, pp. 62-86).
- Van Dijk, T. A., Neff-van Aertselaer, J., & Putz, M. (2004). Introduction: Language, discourse and ideology. In M. Pütz, Neff-van, A. J. A., & Dijk, T. A. (Ed.), *Communicating Ideologies: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Language, Discourse, and Social Practice* (pp. xiii-xxxi). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. .
- Vandewalle, D. (2012). *A history of modern Libya*. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.
- Vasundara Priya, M., & Ravi, B. (2016). The Newspapers Timeline: A study of the newspapers Past & its President. *Academic Research International*, 7(1), 183-193.
- Virtanen, T. (2009). Corpora and discourse analysis. In A. K. Lüdeling, M. (Ed.), *Corpus Linguistics. An International Handbook* (Vol. 2, pp. pp. 1043-1070). Germany: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2001). Letters to the Editor as a Forum for public deliberation: modes of publicity and democratic debate. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18(3), 303-320. doi: 10.1080/07393180128085

- Weber, J. J. (2002). The critical practices of Henry Widdowson. *Language and Literature*, 11(2), 153-160. doi: 10.1177/0963947002011002886
- Weinberg, J. (2008). Bound and Gagged: Silent Censorship in the Arab Press. *Harvard International Review*, 30(1), 12.
- Whitten-Woodring, J., & James, P. (2012). Fourth estate or mouthpiece? A formal model of media, protest, and government repression. *Political Communication*, 29(2), 113-136.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1995a). Discourse analysis: a critical view. *Language and Literature*, 4(3), 157-172. doi: 10.1177/096394709500400301
- Widdowson, H. G. (1995b). Reviews. *Applied Linguistics*, 16(4), 510-516.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1996). Reply to Fairclough: Discourse and interpretation: conjectures and refutations. *Language and Literature*, 5(1), 57-69. doi: 10.1177/096394709600500106
- Widdowson, H. G. (1998). REVIEW ARTICLE The Theory and Practice of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Applied Linguistics*, 19(1), 136-151.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2000). On the limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied Linguistics*, 21(1), 3-25. doi: 10.1093/applin/21.1.3
- Widdowson, H. G. (2001). Scoring points by critical analysis: A reaction to Beaugrande. *Applied Linguistics*, 22(2), 266-272.
- Widdowson, H. G. (2004). *text, context, Pretext: critical Issues in discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Wilkinson, P. (2011). *Terrorism versus democracy: The liberal state response*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Wodak, R. (1995). Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. In J. Verschuren, Ostman, J, and Blommaert, J (Ed.), *Handbook of Pragmatics- Manual*. (pp. 204-210). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wodak, R. (1996). *Orders of discourse*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Study of Doctor–Patient Interaction. In B. L. Gunnarsson , Linell P. and Nordberg B. (Ed.), *The Construction of Professional Discourse* (pp. 173–200). London: Longman
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is About - a Summary of its History, Important Concepts and Its Developments1. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Wodak, R. (2002). Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Zeitschrift für Angewandte. Linguistik*, 36, 5-31.
- Wodak, R. (2009). What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Wodak, R., & Ludwig, C. (1999). Introduction. In R. Wodak, and Christoph Ludwig. (Ed.), *Challenges in a Changing World*. Vienna: Passagen Verlag.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (Vol. 2nd). London; Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Wodak, R., & Reisigl, M. (1999). Discourse and racism: European perspectives. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 175-199.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (2011). *Making sense of media and politics: Five principles in political communication*. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Worldatlas. (2014). Libya History Timeline. *Worldatlas*. from <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/africa/libya/lytimeln.htm>
- Wright, L. (2004). The Kingdom of Silence-In Saudi Arabia, *New Yorker Magazine*.
- Wynne, M. (2008). Searching and concordancing. In A. Lüdeling & M. Kytö (Eds.), *Corpus Linguistics. An International Handbook* (Vol. 1, pp. 706-737). Berlin: W. de Gruyter.
- Yushi, C. (2012). A Comparative Study on the Pan-Arab Media Strategies: The Cases of Egypt and Saudi Arabia. *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, 5(1), 47–60.
- Zantovsky, M. (2011). 1989 and 2011: Compare and Contrast, *World Affairs*. Retrieved from <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/1989-and-2011-compare-and-contrast>
- Zartman, I. W. (2015). Framework, A Conceptual Negotiations in Transitions. In I. W. Zartman (Ed.), *Arab Spring: Negotiating in the Shadow of the Intifadat*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.



- Zbib, R., & Soudi, A. (2012). Introduction. Challenges for Arabic machine translation. In F. A. Soudi A, Neumann G, Zbib R, (Ed.), *Challenges for Arabic Machine Translation, Natural Language Processing* (Vol. 9, pp. 1-13): John Benjamins Publishing.
- Zelizer, B. (1989). 'Saying' as collective practice: Quoting and differential address in the news. *Text-Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse*, 9(4), 369-388.
- Zogby, J., & Zogby, J. (2004). 'Impressions of America 2004: How Arabs View America, How Arabs Learn About America'. New York: Zogby International.
- Zunes, S. (2011). Libya, the United States, and the Anti-Gaddafi Revolt, *The Worldpost*. Retrieved from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/libya-the-united-states-a b 828199.html>

# Appendices

## Appendix i

### SUMMARY OF THE ARAB SPRING

(AlJazeera, 2013; Smith, 2016)

Country	Start Date	Outcomes	Level
<b>Bahrain</b>	February, 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some political prisoners were released</li> <li>King Hamad made some economic concessions( e.g. he gave BD1000 to each Bahraini family)</li> <li>The government decided to negotiate with some Shia representatives.</li> <li>The Bahraini Government asked the GCC forces to intervene to dissolve the protests</li> <li>The National Security Apparatus head has been sacked.</li> <li>Some committees were formed to suggest and carry out some reforms.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>  Civil Disorder
<b>Jordan</b>	January 14 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prime Minister Rifaii and his cabinet was sacked on Feb. 2011</li> <li>People complained on the slow progress of carrying out the reforms</li> <li>Prime Minister Bakhit and his cabinet was dismissed on Oct.2011</li> <li>The protest continued and the new Prime Minister Alkhasawneh resigned on Apr. 2012.</li> <li>AlTarawneh was appointed as a Prime Minister.</li> <li>King Abdullah dissolved the parliament for new early elections On October 2012, and appoints Nsour as prime Minister</li> <li>People kept complaining due to the fast rising of goods prices.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>
<b>Oman</b>	January 17 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sultan Qaboos took measures to address public grievances making some economic concessions( e.g. financial supports to employees and students)</li> <li>Some Ministers were dismissed.</li> <li>Sultan Qaboos granted lawmaking powers to some council that previously had only an advisory role.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>  Almost Ended in May, 2011
<b>Sudan</b>	January 30 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>President Omar Bashir announced his intentions to step down after the end of his term in 2015.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>
<b>Iraq</b>	Dec. 23 <sup>rd</sup> , 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Iraqi authorities reacted violently killing and arresting some protesters.</li> <li>Prime Minister Maliki declared that he will not seek another term.</li> <li>Some provincial governors and local authorities resigned.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>
<b>Kuwait</b>	February, 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prime Minister Naser AlSubah resigned from his post.</li> <li>The parliament was dissolved.</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some political activists were arrested</li> </ul>	
<b>Morocco</b>	February, 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>King Mohammed VI made some political concessions.</li> <li>Constitutional reforms were suggested.</li> <li>The government promised to put an end to corruption and to respect civil rights.</li> </ul>	<b>Major protests</b>
<b>Algeria</b>	Dec. 29 <sup>th</sup> , 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The 19-year-old state of emergency was lifted</li> <li>Some political, social, and economic reforms were made</li> </ul>	<b>Major Protests</b>
<b>Palestine</b>	Sep. 4 <sup>th</sup> , 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prime Minister Fayyad resigned on 13 April 2013.</li> <li>Fatah and Hamas signed a reconciliation agreement.</li> </ul>	<b>Minor protests</b>
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	March, 11 <sup>th</sup> , 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>King Abdullah made some economic concessions increasing the spending on social programs and dedicating billions on housing loans and education.</li> </ul>	<b>Minor protests</b>
<b>Lebanon</b>	February, 27 <sup>th</sup> , 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some social, economic, and political reforms were made</li> </ul>	<b>Minor protests</b>
<b>UAE</b>	_____	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The government took strict measures in anticipation of any protests.</li> </ul>	<b>No protests</b>
<b>Qatar</b>	_____	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The government made further economic reforms.</li> <li>Emir of Qatar transferred power to his son, Tamim.</li> </ul>	<b>No protests</b>

## Appendix ii

### UCREL CLAWS7 TAGSET

<b>APPGE</b>	possessive pronoun, pre-nominal (e.g. my, your, our)
<b>AT</b>	article (e.g. the, no)
<b>AT1</b>	singular article (e.g. a, an, every)
<b>BCL</b>	before-clause marker (e.g. in order (that), in order (to))
<b>CC</b>	coordinating conjunction (e.g. and, or)
<b>CCB</b>	adversative coordinating conjunction ( but)
<b>CS</b>	subordinating conjunction (e.g. if, because, unless, so, for)
<b>CSA</b>	as (as conjunction)
<b>CSN</b>	than (as conjunction)
<b>CST</b>	that (as conjunction)
<b>CSW</b>	whether (as conjunction)
<b>DA</b>	after-determiner or post-determiner capable of pronominal function (e.g. such, former, same)
<b>DA1</b>	singular after-determiner (e.g. little, much)
<b>DA2</b>	plural after-determiner (e.g. few, several, many)
<b>DAR</b>	comparative after-determiner (e.g. more, less, fewer)
<b>DAT</b>	superlative after-determiner (e.g. most, least, fewest)
<b>DB</b>	before determiner or pre-determiner capable of pronominal function (all, half)
<b>DB2</b>	plural before-determiner ( both)
<b>DD</b>	determiner (capable of pronominal function) (e.g any, some)
<b>DD1</b>	singular determiner (e.g. this, that, another)
<b>DD2</b>	plural determiner ( these,those)
<b>DDQ</b>	wh-determiner (which, what)
<b>DDQGE</b>	wh-determiner, genitive (whose)
<b>DDQV</b>	wh-ever determiner, (whichever, whatever)
<b>EX</b>	existential there
<b>FO</b>	formula
<b>FU</b>	unclassified word
<b>FW</b>	foreign word
<b>GE</b>	germanic genitive marker - (' or's)
<b>IF</b>	for (as preposition)
<b>II</b>	general preposition
<b>IO</b>	of (as preposition)
<b>IW</b>	with, without (as prepositions)
<b>JJ</b>	general adjective
<b>JJR</b>	general comparative adjective (e.g. older, better, stronger)
<b>JJT</b>	general superlative adjective (e.g. oldest, best, strongest)
<b>JK</b>	catenative adjective (able in be able to, willing in be willing to)
<b>MC</b>	cardinal number, neutral for number (two, three..)

<b>MC1</b>	singular cardinal number (one)
<b>MC2</b>	plural cardinal number (e.g. sixes, sevens)
<b>MCGE</b>	genitive cardinal number, neutral for number (two's, 100's)
<b>MCMC</b>	hyphenated number (40-50, 1770-1827)
<b>MD</b>	ordinal number (e.g. first, second, next, last)
<b>MF</b>	fraction, neutral for number (e.g. quarters, two-thirds)
<b>ND1</b>	singular noun of direction (e.g. north, southeast)
<b>NN</b>	common noun, neutral for number (e.g. sheep, cod, headquarters)
<b>NN1</b>	singular common noun (e.g. book, girl)
<b>NN2</b>	plural common noun (e.g. books, girls)
<b>NNA</b>	following noun of title (e.g. M.A.)
<b>NNB</b>	preceding noun of title (e.g. Mr., Prof.)
<b>NNL1</b>	singular locative noun (e.g. Island, Street)
<b>NNL2</b>	plural locative noun (e.g. Islands, Streets)
<b>NNO</b>	numeral noun, neutral for number (e.g. dozen, hundred)
<b>NNO2</b>	numeral noun, plural (e.g. hundreds, thousands)
<b>NNT1</b>	temporal noun, singular (e.g. day, week, year)
<b>NNT2</b>	temporal noun, plural (e.g. days, weeks, years)
<b>NNU</b>	unit of measurement, neutral for number (e.g. in, cc)
<b>NNU1</b>	singular unit of measurement (e.g. inch, centimetre)
<b>NNU2</b>	plural unit of measurement (e.g. ins., feet)
<b>NP</b>	proper noun, neutral for number (e.g. IBM, Andes)
<b>NP1</b>	singular proper noun (e.g. London, Jane, Frederick)
<b>NP2</b>	plural proper noun (e.g. Browns, Reagans, Koreas)
<b>NPD1</b>	singular weekday noun (e.g. Sunday)
<b>NPD2</b>	plural weekday noun (e.g. Sundays)
<b>NPM1</b>	singular month noun (e.g. October)
<b>NPM2</b>	plural month noun (e.g. Octobers)
<b>PN</b>	indefinite pronoun, neutral for number (none)
<b>PN1</b>	indefinite pronoun, singular (e.g. anyone, everything, nobody, one)
<b>PNQO</b>	objective wh-pronoun (whom)
<b>PNQS</b>	subjective wh-pronoun (who)
<b>PNQV</b>	wh-ever pronoun (whoever)
<b>PNX1</b>	reflexive indefinite pronoun (oneself)
<b>PPGE</b>	nominal possessive personal pronoun (e.g. mine, yours)
<b>PPH1</b>	3rd person sing. neuter personal pronoun (it)
<b>PPHO1</b>	3rd person sing. objective personal pronoun (him, her)
<b>PPHO2</b>	3rd person plural objective personal pronoun (them)
<b>PPHS1</b>	3rd person sing. subjective personal pronoun (he, she)
<b>PPHS2</b>	3rd person plural subjective personal pronoun (they)
<b>PPIO1</b>	1st person sing. objective personal pronoun (me)
<b>PPIO2</b>	1st person plural objective personal pronoun (us)

<b>PPIS1</b>	1st person sing. subjective personal pronoun (I)
<b>PPIS2</b>	1st person plural subjective personal pronoun (we)
<b>PPX1</b>	singular reflexive personal pronoun (e.g. yourself, itself)
<b>PPX2</b>	plural reflexive personal pronoun (e.g. yourselves, themselves)
<b>PPY</b>	2nd person personal pronoun (you)
<b>RA</b>	adverb, after nominal head (e.g. else, galore)
<b>REX</b>	adverb introducing appositional constructions (namely, e.g.)
<b>RG</b>	degree adverb (very, so, too)
<b>RGQ</b>	wh- degree adverb (how)
<b>RGQV</b>	wh-ever degree adverb (however)
<b>RGR</b>	comparative degree adverb (more, less)
<b>RGT</b>	superlative degree adverb (most, least)
<b>RL</b>	locative adverb (e.g. alongside, forward)
<b>RP</b>	prep. adverb, particle (e.g. about, in)
<b>RPK</b>	prep. adv., catenative (about in be about to)
<b>RR</b>	general adverb
<b>RRQ</b>	wh- general adverb (where, when, why, how)
<b>RRQV</b>	wh-ever general adverb (wherever, whenever)
<b>RRR</b>	comparative general adverb (e.g. better, longer)
<b>RRT</b>	superlative general adverb (e.g. best, longest)
<b>RT</b>	quasi-nominal adverb of time (e.g. now, tomorrow)
<b>TO</b>	infinitive marker (to)
<b>UH</b>	interjection (e.g. oh, yes, um)
<b>VB0</b>	be, base form (finite i.e. imperative, subjunctive)
<b>VBDR</b>	Were
<b>VBDZ</b>	Was
<b>VBG</b>	Being
<b>VBI</b>	be, infinitive (To be or not... It will be ..)
<b>VBM</b>	Am
<b>VBN</b>	Been
<b>VBR</b>	Are
<b>VBZ</b>	Is
<b>VD0</b>	do, base form (finite)
<b>VDD</b>	Did
<b>VDG</b>	doing
<b>VDI</b>	do, infinitive (I may do... To do...)
<b>VDN</b>	Done
<b>VDZ</b>	Does
<b>VH0</b>	have, base form (finite)
<b>VHD</b>	had (past tense)
<b>VHG</b>	having
<b>VHI</b>	have, infinitive

<b>VHN</b>	had (past participle)
<b>VHZ</b>	Has
<b>VM</b>	modal auxiliary (can, will, would, etc.)
<b>VMK</b>	modal catenative (ought, used)
<b>VVO</b>	base form of lexical verb (e.g. give, work)
<b>VVD</b>	past tense of lexical verb (e.g. gave, worked)
<b>VVG</b>	-ing participle of lexical verb (e.g. giving, working)
<b>VVGK</b>	-ing participle catenative (going in be going to)
<b>VVI</b>	infinitive (e.g. to give... It will work...)
<b>VVN</b>	past participle of lexical verb (e.g. given, worked)
<b>VVNK</b>	past participle catenative (e.g. bound in be bound to)
<b>VVZ</b>	-s form of lexical verb (e.g. gives, works)
<b>XX</b>	not, n't
<b>ZZ1</b>	singular letter of the alphabet (e.g. A,b)
<b>ZZ2</b>	plural letter of the alphabet (e.g. A's, b's)

### Appendix iii

## THE STANFORD NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING GROUP

### UPENN TREEBANK II WORD TAGS

Tag	Description
CC	Coordinating conjunction
CD	Cardinal number
DT	Determiner
EX	Existential <i>there</i>
FW	Foreign word
IN	Preposition or subordinating conjunction
JJ	Adjective
JJR	Adjective, comparative
JJS	Adjective, superlative
LS	List item marker
MD	Modal
NN	Noun, singular or mass
NNS	Noun, plural
NNP	Proper noun, singular
NNPS	Proper noun, plural
PDT	Predeterminer
POS	Possessive ending
PRP	Personal pronoun
PRP\$	Possessive pronoun
RB	Adverb
RBR	Adverb, comparative
RBS	Adverb, superlative
RP	Particle
SYM	Symbol
TO	To
UH	Interjection
VB	Verb, base form
VBD	Verb, past tense
VBG	Verb, gerund or present participle
VBN	Verb, past participle
VBP	Verb, non-3rd person singular present
VBZ	Verb, 3rd person singular present
WDT	Wh-determiner
WP	Wh-pronoun
WP\$	Possessive wh-pronoun
WRB	Wh-adverb